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THE JAPANESE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

BY

WILLIAM EDMUND LAMPE, PH.D.,

MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN

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PREFACE.

This dissertation, presented to the Faculty of Princeton University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is based upon a study of Japan and the Japanese people during a residence of seven years in Japan and one year in Princeton. It would not have been undertaken except for the encouragement of several members of the Faculty, particularly of Professor Walter A. Wyckoff, who also suggested the subject. I am under especial obligations to Professor W. M. Daniels, who has advised me at each step and has given me the benefit of helpful criticisms and suggestions.

May 1, 1908.

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INTRODUCTION

So far as I know this is the first essay dealing with any subject relating to Japan presented by a Western student to a University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Japan has been open now for half a century but we know less about the Japanese than about any other important group of the human family. Until quite recently the Japanese had not studied their own country from the standpoint of Western scholarship and for this reason they were unable to give us of the West the data we desired. This is, however, no longer true, for in the last few years the methods of the West have been used by certain of the younger generation of Japanese scholars and they have given us valuable results. For a third of a century a small group of mature Occidental scholars, who have resided in Japan, have been at work and they have made important scientific contributions to our knowledge of the country. A glance at the bibliography will reveal our indebtedness to them. A foreign student has one advantage over the Japanese investigator,—custom has not blunted his perceptions and he is unconsciously struck by what is unique.

We devote much attention to the social conditions of Europe in past ages, but it may really be that we shall profit almost as much from a study of the social system and social conditions of the Island Empire on the other side of the globe. Her territory is small, but Japan has as large an area as have many of the nations of Europe and for many centuries she has been fully as populous as the greatest European Powers. Noting what seems to be her marvelous progress we turn to a study of her institutions and find them almost essentially different from our own.

Nothing but lack of knowledge concerning this people, so long segregated from the remainder of the race, can account for the great variety of opinions held concerning them. Some fail to recognize that they are people fundamentally like ourselves. For example, Knapp says: "Japan is unquestionably the unique nation of the globe,—the land of dream and enchantment, the land which could hardly differ more from our own were it located on another planet, its people not of this world".* But in my opinion Shylock's utterance as to the identity of human nature in Jew and Gentile might as truthfully apply to the essential likeness of the Japanese and ourselves. Others would have us believe that it is "impossible for foreigners to understand the operation of the mind of the Japanese and equally difficult for them to understand ours",† as if there were some convolutions in their brains that are not in ours. The truth is that Japan existed before we discovered it and the Japanese have worked out some important problems independently of the West, but just as Darwin's studies led him to see more clearly "the close similarity of the mind of man, to whatever race he may belong", so study of the Japanese shows that they have been and are now grappling with the same problems as we are. After all, "man is always and everywhere the same". Relatives who have long been separated and whose development has been different have again met face to face.

If we are ever to have a complete social theory we need the data furnished by Japan's social history. Hearn is one of those who would say that we are not yet ready for this: "No work fully interpreting that life,—no work picturing Japan within and without, historically and socially, psychologically and ethically,—can be written for at least another fifty years".‡ This contention is that it is useless at present to attempt to really understand Japan. The better opinion seems to me that of Knox, who says: "Japan is known to those who would

* *Feudal and Modern Japan,* Vol. 1, p. 1.

† G. G. Hubbard, *The Japanese Nation,* Smithsonian Report for 1895, p. 673.

‡ *Japan: An Interpretation,* p. 3.

study it as it has never been known to its own people in the past. It would seem then an affected humility to profess that the West cannot understand the East, for there is nothing inscrutable, nothing even mysterious, nothing to lead us to conclude that the Japanese are other than men of like passions with ourselves but formed in a different environment and educated in a different atmosphere".*

This study aims to set forth the fundamental characteristics of the Japanese social structure. It is not a prophecy, nor is it primarily an exposition of the forces now at work; its purpose throughout is to elucidate the elements of essential strength and weakness in the social organization.

The Japan of to-day owes much to China, and to understand Japanese institutions some knowledge of China is necessary. Again, in Japan many of the social ideas of China, political, intellectual, and religious, have been worked out, but in a different environment. Thus, what I have written may throw some light on general social conditions in the East outside of Japan.

* *Japanese Life in Town and Country,* p. 5.

CHAPTER I.

The Social History.

THE ORIGIN OF THE JAPANESE.

Were we able to speak with assurance regarding the origin of the Japanese people[1] many steps in their social evolution would be more easily and better understood. The oldest traditions are that "the divine ancestors descended from heaven to the earth". The facts in the case seem to be that there were several streams of immigration from the west and south to the land we now call Japan. Those who passed through Korea on their way thither came from their ancestral home somewhere in the north of Central Asia,[2] while a second stream, of South-Asian immigrants, were drifted to Japan by the "Japan Current". When these people of Mongolian and Malay origin arrived they found the Ainu there before them.

According to the Ainu tradition, when their forefathers came from the northeast islands (Kuriles) they found the land already inhabited by the Koropok-guru, a numerous people who

[1] This question has been examined from many different points of view. Siebold has studied it from an archæological standpoint; Milne has drawn important conclusions based on geological research; Blackiston has pointed out "zoological indications of ancient connection of the Japanese Islands with the Continent"; Baelz has used the anthropological method; and Parker and Chamberlain have approached it from the the philological side. The results of the studies of these and other scholars working along similar lines are to be found for the most part in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

[2] F. Brinkley, *Japan in History, Literature, and Art*, Vol. I, p. 18.

Ethnologists are agreed that the predominant element of the Japanese race came to Japan by way of Korea from that part of Asia which lies north of China. W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, p. 1.

The new-comers were a "Mongolian race resembling the Chinese and Koreans".

lived in conelike huts, built over holes dug in the earth. The Ainu have no written language, but their oral tradition is corroborated by the Japanese chronicles which speak several times of "earth-spiders", or people living in the earth.[3] The Ainu claim that they exterminated these pit-dwellers.[4]

Who the Ainu were is not known.[5] About fifteen thousand of them still live in Hokkaido. A comparison of the Ainu and Japanese languages shows that they have nothing in common. Physically they are sturdier than the Japanese and they are probably the hairiest race in the world. Scholars are generally agreed that they came from the north, probably by way of Saghalin, which at Lat. 52° N. is separated from the mainland of Asia by a distance of only about five miles. In the course of time the Ainu peopled the entire territory now known as Japan. Before the Japanese could make the islands their home it was necessary for them to conquer these Ainu. At first the Ainu bravely resisted the invaders but they were driven northward by degrees. Marriage certainly took place between conquerors and conquered and this resulted in an infusion of Ainu blood into Japanese veins.[6]

[3] There seems to be little doubt that ages ago such people lived in at least northern Japan. There are still to be seen in the northern island, Hokkaido, what some claim to be the remains of the living places of these pit-dwellers. On the whole it is more easy to believe than to question that there were such "pigmies" living in Japan in early ages. E. g., it would be difficult to explain otherwise the bits of pottery occasionally found, for the Ainu did not know the art of pottery. For fuller discussion of this subject see the writings of Prof. Koganei, of Tokyo University, and chaps. 1 and 2 of the *Political Ideas of Modern Japan* by Kiyoshi Kawakami.

[4] They are believed to be represented to-day by the inhabitants of Saghalin, the Kuriles, and southern Kamschatka. Brinkley, Vol. I, p. 35.

[5] Griffis maintains that they were Aryans, but he stands almost alone in his contention. Cf. *The Japanese Nation in Evolution,* p. 1. "The Ainu, a white race of people, speaking an Aryan tongue," ibid., p. 48. It is more likely that if the Japanese have any Aryan blood it came with the people from the south.

[6] "A migrating race is a conquering race. In all migrations the

In the early centuries of the Christian era, Korean and Chinese scholars and artisans came to Japan, occasionally in great numbers. These were absorbed into the Japanese race, leaving on it some faint traces of the amalgamation.[7] Some of the best families of Japan are proud to be able to trace their lineage to some remote Chinese or even Korean ancestor.

The one thing that is clear is that the Japanese are not a pure race. In them is a mixture[8] of Malay, Mongolian, Ainu, and perhaps other blood. After a stable racial amalgam had been produced, from time to time new and different branches were grafted upon this parent stock. The result has been the production of an improved race, for the Japanese are only one example shown by history of the good effect produced by the mixture of racial units which are somewhat alike intellectually and physically.[9]

males of the conquering race cross with the females of the conquered race, and not *vice versa*". Giddings, *Principles of Sociology,* p. 233. Certainly there is nothing to justify such statements as that of Griffis, "the mass of the Japanese people to-day are substantially of Ainu stock". *Mikado's Empire,* p. 35.

Prof. Chamberlain says that "so far as blood is concerned the Japanese have been little, if at all, affected by Ainu influence". *Things Japanese,* p. 18.

"The basic stock of the Japanese is without doubt Mongolian". Kawakami, *Political Ideas,* p. 11.

[7] Brinkley, Vol. I, p. 38.

[8] "The offspring of a mixed race obey the tendency, first demonstrated by Galton in his studies on heredity, to revert to the parent types and not to form middle types." Giddings, *Principles,* p. 233.

Among the Japanese to-day there are several distinct types. It is frequently remarked that the present Emperor is of a striking Malay type. At first glance it is not easy even for those who have spent many years in the Orient to distinguish certain of the Japanese from Chinese.

[9] "The crossings of varieties that are not too unlike is often beneficial. Mixed races, after natural selection has eliminated the weaklings, are taller, stronger, more prolific, and more adaptable than pure races. Anthropologists differ in regard to the limits within which cross breeding is advantageous". Giddings, *Principles,* p. 324.

The Japanese in Their Earliest History.

The earliest Japanese knew nothing of the art of writing and the events of thirteen centuries were preserved solely by oral tradition. Japanese investigators are disposed to think that the use of writing was imported from China one or two centuries prior to the Christian era; Western scholars almost without exception place this date at least three centuries later. At any rate, the earliest historical records suffered almost total destruction by fire at the time of the downfall of the Soga family in A. D. 645, and do not seem to have exercised any appreciable influence upon subsequent annals. Our reliance for information about the history of Japanese antiquity has to be placed upon the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*.[10]

The *Kojiki,* or "Records of Ancient Matters", was dictated by one Hide-no-Are and was completed in A. D. 711 or 712. This, the earliest Japanese document, has preserved for us more fully than any other book the mythology, the manners, the language, and the traditional history of ancient Japan. Its "history" stops at the year A. D. 628.

The *Nihongi,* or "Chronicles of Japan", second only in value to the "Records", was completed in A. D. 720 and carries the history down to A. D. 700. Yasumaro, to whom Hide-no-Are dictated the "Records", was one of the compilers or authors of the "Chronicles". The "Records" wisely has no chronology, but the "Chronicles" pretends to give the exact month and day for nearly every event recorded.

The general scope of the two histories is the same, but the language of the later one and its method of treating the national traditions stand in notable contrast to the unpretending simplicity of the older work. Soon after the completion of the "Records", most of the salient features of distinctive Japanese nationality were buried under a superincumbent mass of Chinese culture.[11] While the "Records" is to a very large ex-

[10]Department of Education of Japan, *History of the Japanese Empire,* p. 1.

[11]B. H. Chamberlain, *Introduction to the Kojiki,* T. A. S. J., Vol. X, Supplement, *passim.*

tent pure Japanese the style of the "Chronicles" is completely Chinese.[12] The concessions made to Chinese notions in the "Chronicles" went far toward satisfying minds trained on Chinese models, while at the same time the reader had his respect for the old native emperors increased, and was enabled to preserve some sort of belief in the native gods.[13] These two works are attempts to harmonize a large body of frequently irreconcilable mythical material in existence in A. D. 720.[14]

Both of these "histories" purport to give the actual history of Japan from the year 660 B. C. when the first Emperor, Jimmu, "having subdued and pacified the savage Deities, and extirpated the unsubmissive people, dwelt at the palace of Kashiwabara".[15] "The authenticity of the greater part of ancient Japanese history down to about A. D. 400 is not acknowledged by Occidental authorities, but it is affirmed by native historians and has been officially recognized by the government".[16] Nearly all educated Japanese of the present day are sceptical concerning the old mythology and reject or rather ignore the legends of the gods, but implicitly believe the legends of the emperors from Jimmu downwards.[17] Western scholars are almost unanimously of the opinion that

[12]E. M. Satow, *The Revival of Pure Shinto,* T. A. S. J., Vol. III, Appendix, p. 19.

[13]This, one of the reasons why the "Chronicles" has always excelled the "Records" in popular favor, is important, but it is not in place to discuss it here.

[14]W. G. Aston, *Shinto,* p. 2.

[15]*Kojiki,* Vol. II, Sec. 50.

[16]Seiji Hishida, *The International Position of Japan as a Great Power,* p. 41.

"The ages of the monarchs from Jimmu down are given in the 'Digest of the Imperial Pedigree', a work published by the Imperial Japanese Government in 1877, and therefore carrying with it the weight of authority". Chamberlain, T. A. S. J., Vol. X, p. 368.

[17]The interval covered by the reigns of the seven sovereigns who succeeded the second was four hundred and fifty years, but beyond the fact that they succeeded to the throne the records are almost altogether silent. The early records are only of rulers, and often the people are not even in the background of the picture.

there is no authentic history before A. D. 461, while some who are most entitled to express an opinion put this date even a century or more later. The iconoclasm of Westerners has given courage to Japanese scholars, a few of whom have dared to question the credibility of their ancient history as we now have it. It needs bolstering up at too many points and there is reason to believe that within a few decades, after it has been studied by native scholars according to the canons of modern criticism, their earliest "history" will be rewritten.

From early times there had been a hereditary corporation of reciters, called Katari-Be, and we can be certain that in these oldest documents we have the earliest traditions of the Japanese race. Even the myths and legends throw a useful light on the beliefs and institutions of the age when they became current. Archaeology, too, contributes to our knowledge of the earliest Japanese society, and the contents of the barrows, or mounds of earth heaped over the remains of the dead, and the dolmens, or stone chambers used at times of burial, throw important light on the early social history.

The groups of people living in Kyushu in the South, in Izumo in the West, and in Yamato in the East, probably represented respectively the immigrations already referred to from South Asia, and from North Central Asia through Korea, and the Ainu, whoever they may have been. Although the general opinion is that the people in Izumo were earlier it is by no means certain which of the two streams of immigration first reached Japan. The warrior-statesman Jimmu Tenno,[18] first subdued the people living in Kyushu, and became their chief and leader. He then gathered his followers and leading them northward and eastward,[19] conquering a region here and sub-

[18]This was a posthumous name given to him more than a thousand years after the date which Japanese historians assign for his decease.

[19]At the age of forty-five he addressed his elder brothers and children saying "....From the date when our Heavenly Ancestor descended until now it is over 1,792,470 years. But the remote regions do not yet enjoy the blessings of Imperial rule. Every town has been allowed to have its lord, and every village its chief, who, each one for himself,

duing a chief there, by fifteen years of desperate struggle carved out for himself an empire which he held together by the weight of his sword. His territory, which was the "fruit of conquest pure and simple",[20] did not include more than one half of the area of the main island.[21] Even within this territory his sway was somewhat limited and disputed. One tradition was that the conquered peoples acknowledged their consanguinity with their conquerors from Kyushu,[22] but this is at best a respectable fiction originated centuries later to explain the unity of the Japanese people. While we may reasonably doubt if there was any blood-tie, the outcome was at all events one people, and there were no longer several centers of governmental activity. From this time the "assemblies of the gods"[23], whether in heaven or on earth, came to an end. These assemblies may have been beautified myths of early tribal assemblies which ceased with the advent of civil government under Jimmu.[24]

There is abundant evidence that the process of amalgamation was a slow one. For centuries the groups were held together only by the military organization of Jimmu and his successors. The most that can be said is that these conquerors became dominant and that gathered under them was a confederation of groups of people more or less unlike. Rival chiefs were kept in subjection and the authority of the rulers among the conquerors was at no time seriously disputed by those who were now consciously amalgamated into a new state.

Meanwhile forces,—language, religion and external pres-

makes division of territory and practices mutual aggression and conflict....". *Nihongi,* Aston's Translation, p. 110. (In Transactions of the Japan Society of London.)

[20]Kanichi Asakawa, *The Early Institutional Life of Japan,* p. 30.

[21] Ibid. p. 45.

[22]Cf. Brinkley, Vol. I, p. 31.

[23] *History of Empire of Japan,* p. 26.

[24]Possibly Izumo, Yamato and Kyushu are merely names of the ancestral homes of the three leading tribes which confederated under Jimmu and became the Japanese nation.

sure,—were at work unifying all the elements of the population. The speech of the people became uniform.[25] There is not even the faintest trace of any earlier language. Whatever lingual divergencies there may have been disappeared entirely or became part of the new tongue.[26]

At some point in this development of a common speech a new religion became prevalent. This indigenous religion, called Shinto, became the religion of the people who formed the new nation and remained their only religion for many centuries. It is perhaps too much to say that the origin of Shinto was due to the political necessity of glorifying the ruler by claiming his divine descent, but this cult, a combined nature and ancestor worship, has always been closely connected with this political theory, now upholding it and in turn upheld by it.

As the nation grew stronger and more unified the unsubjugated aborigines were gradually pushed farther and farther northward. Certainly this pressure from without of opposing people, not fully subdued for many centuries, was one of the most important factors in holding together this early empire.[27]

It is but natural that this early society,[28] whose birth was syn-

[25]Language always tends toward closer union. "Identity of language and custom and tradition tends always to create identity of race." Giddings, *Principles of Sociology,* p. 254.

[26]So far it has not been possible to assign a definite place to the Japanese language in any family of languages. It is usually included in the so-called Altaic group. D. Thompson (*The Probable Origin of the Japanese Language,* Japan Evangelist, Vol. X, pp. 336-343) points out strong resemblances between Japanese and the Semitic languages.

There are not and have not been any dialects in Japan, although here and there there are marked differences of pronunciation. The language early became definite and fixed, and pure Japanese has undergone very little change during the ages that have followed.

[27] Cf. Fairbanks, *Introduction to Sociology,* p. 111.

[28]We are not dealing with a people of the antiquity of China or even of Korea, for the first society of Japan of which we have any real knowledge does not much antedate the beginning of the Christian era. Of course it is to be kept in mind throughout that we are discussing Japanese society, without reference to the customs or institutions of the tribes or races who united and became the Japanese people. The

chronous with military conquest and victory and whose very existence depended upon its ability to maintain itself by military force, was very unstable. The personal bond between many of its members must have been very loose indeed. There was as yet no family and relations between the sexes were irregular and transient. There were no wedding ceremonies and for centuries cohabitation alone constituted matrimony. Marriage was subjected to few restrictions.[29] Mistress, wife and concubine were almost synonymous terms. A husband incurred no obligations toward the wife and he might form as many different unions as fancy prompted. A married couple lived apart, the husband simply paying periodical visits to the home of the wife. As the children were brought up by the mother, who also gave them their names, it was possible for one household of a man to remain in entire ignorance of another's existence.[30] Strange unions were sometimes formed. Only children of the same mother might not intermarry. To be sons of the same father carried no obligation of friendship or sympathy. In the course of time there came about an arrangement by which one wife was singled out of several as the legitimate wife, but it was not until the Code of 701 that wife and concubine were distinguished.[31]

Women played a very important part in this era of Japanese history. A number of the rulers were women[32] and women chieftans are often mentioned. But, despite certain prac-

importance of such factors is by no means overlooked, but it is not likely that much light will ever be thrown upon them.

[29] *History of Empire of Japan,* p. 65.

[30] Brinkley, Vol. I, pp. 61 *seq.*

[31] On this point cf. Chamberlain's Introduction to the *Kojiki,* p. 40, and Asakawa, *Early Institutional Life,* pp. 51-55.

Concubinage still exists and is indirectly sanctioned by the new Civil Code, Arts. 827 and 728. Cf. Clement, *Handbook of Modern Japan,* pp. 181 *seq.*

[32] Since the close of the eighteenth century no empress has sat upon the throne. The Constitution provides in Article 2 that the "Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by Imperial male descendants".

tices characteristic of matriarchal society,[33] we are not justified in saying that the Japanese passed through matriarchal to patriarchal society. It is true that at first *patria potestas* was lax and society was only quasi-patriarchal in form; but the control of his family, or families, was always[34] in the hands of the husband.

As might be inferred from what has been said, the Japanese appeared upon the stage as a people already civilized. They were not only acquainted with primitive agricultural methods but immediately became an agricultural nation. Rice was cultivated in prehistoric times,[35] and even in the legendary history, when Susanoo quarreled with his elder sister, the Sun-Goddess, he laid waste several of her rice fields. Although depending somewhat upon hunting and fishing for subsistence, as has been the case throughout their whole his-

[33] E. g., Separate residence and the rearing of children by the mother. v. *supra.*

Probably it is their zeal in defence of a particular theory of the development of society which has led some sociologists to say that separate residence is the most important relic of the transitional state from the maternal to the paternal family. Asakawa, *Early Institutional Life,* is confronted with this difficulty in the case of Japan when he states (p. 57) that "the husband and his wives all lived apart from one another" and explains by saying (p. 58) that "matriarchy had left its traces here later than is usual in a patriarchal community". "The social life of Japan in A.D. 500 was patriarchal from top to bottom, from state to family, but at the same time fiction had made inroads into it far and deep." p. 60.

Even to-day it is provided by law that a man may enter the family of his wife, taking her name and keeping up the succession of her family.

[34] In the story of creation the creator required the creatress to make amends for having spoken first.

[35] *Nihongi,* pp. 48, 49, 86.

"The discovery of the cereals suitable for food was hardly less important than the discovery of animals which could be domesticated; and it marked an immense advance beyond the latter discovery, because it encouraged a settled life, and removed man still farther from subjection to the vicissitudes of nature.... Cereal food is really the basis of civilization." Fairbanks, *Sociology,* pp. 79, 80.

tory, there is no reason to think that they passed through a hunting stage. Nor were they ever a pastoral people; domesticated animals do not figure in their early life; cattle were introduced late in the history, and sheep, goats and swine have always been almost altogether unknown. The case of the Japanese confirms the view of Bücher[36] that we must shake off the idea that "every people shall have been hunters or nomads before passing over to settled agriculture".

While they were essentially an agricultural people certain industrial arts had already been highly developed. They knew how to work in metals, to make pottery, and to build ships and bridges. The origin of the art of brewing intoxicating drinks dates back to time immemorial.[37] Before real history began there were hereditary corporations, essentially branches of the government, of shield and sword makers, jewellers, clay-workers, and other artisans. Indeed so much importance was attached to industrial occupations and so many handicrafts are enumerated that "history seems to indicate that the early settlers, the progenitors of the Japanese proper, were an industrial people rather than an agricultural".[38]

Although the family had not yet taken on fixed form, there was more or less division of labor among the men and women.[39] While both took part in the work of tilling the ground the men brought in flesh and fish for food and the women prepared the food and made clothes of woven material.[40]

The several garments worn by the "deities", probably tribal ancestors, are mentioned in the earliest records. The ancient Japanese were well clothed. Wearing apparel was made of hempen cloth, and of fibre made of the inner bark of the paper

[36] *Industrial Evolution,* p. 152.

[37] *Nihongi,* pp. 52, 56.

[38] Brinkley, Vol. VII, p. 69.

[39] "The stability of the family increases as the division of labor between the sexes becomes perfect." Giddings, *Principles of Sociology,* p. 266.

[40] "The people were prosperous; and tribute, or tax, on the produce of the chase was levied upon the males and on domestic handiwork upon the females." *Kojiki.* Sec. LXVII, p. 182.

mulberry. As substitute for articles unprocurable in certain districts for offering at the shrines, cloth was used and thus was in a sense the currency of the day.[41] Each official rank had its distinct costume. Straw rain coats and broad-brimmed hats to protect against the inclemencies of the weather were in use amongst the peasants.[42] They were more fond of ornaments than their descendants of later generations, for jewels and precious stones are found in their graves.[43] Habits of personal cleanliness existed in germ in the earliest times. Mention is made of the bathing women of one of the emperors while he was an infant. Frequent reference is made to the people bathing in rivers[44] and of putting on fresh garments.

They did not live in towns or villages but in small groups, and many isolated dwellings. That there were separate building for special purposes[45] and that houses were abandoned after a person had died in them is evidence that their houses were the rudest kinds of structures. Stone was never used and what was put together of wood was of extreme simplicity. As late as the middle of the fifth century the upper classes were content to live in log huts tied together with wild-vine ligatures.[46] Even the palace of the sovereign was a wooden hut, the whole frame-work of which was tied together with cords.[47] It is important for us to note here that the architecture of these earliest buildings, of which good descriptions

[41] Aston, *Shinto,* p. 213.

[42] Chamberlain's Introduction to the *Kojiki,* pp. 30, 31.

[43] D. Murray, *The Story of Japan,* p. 88.

[44] From the myth which represents the creator as washing in the sea the inference that the Japanese have always been cleanly in body is perhaps justified. Bodily cleanliness is ceremonial and religious rather than physical.

"The virtue of cleanliness received practical acknowledgement among even the lowest classes." Brinkley, Vol. I, p. 65.

[45] "Nuptial huts", *Shinto,* p. 90 and "parturition huts", *ibid.* p. 113. There were also "mourning huts", especially constructed, in which dead bodies were kept for ten days.

[46] Brinkley, Vol. I, p. 84.

[47] Satow, T. A. S. J., Vol. IX, Pt. 11, pp. 191, 192.

have come down to us, was Japanese in every way. "The Japanese house is as thoroughly a product of Japan as is that of the Chinese, the Korean, the Malay a product of those respective peoples, and differs from all quite as much as they differ from one another. A few features have been introduced from abroad, but these have been trifling."[48]

Order was in direct relation to the strength of the ruler. Property rights were ill-defined. Morals were low and the record made at the time of "a general purification of the land" reveals a shocking state of affairs.[49] The most cruel punishments were dealt out to enemies and wrong doers.[50] A humane emperor made an attempt to put an end to the practice of burying alive servants with their dead masters[51] by ordering that clay images[52] be substituted, but the practice was not for a long time done away with, for as late as the year A. D. 646 (which was in the historical period) the reigning emperor found it necessary to issue regulations concerning useless slaughter of this very kind.[53]

The first century or two of real history seems to have been a period of gradual retrogression rather than of advance. "The fifth century may justly be called the blackest era in the history of Japanese imperialism and of course the moral condition of the inferior classes was not better than that of the Court."[54] The nation offered a striking example of well-developed civilization side by side with most rudimentary morality.[55]

[48] Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings,* p. 334.

[49] About A. D. 200. V. *Kojiki,* Sec. XCVII.

[50] Chamberlain's Introduction to the *Kojiki,* p. 40.

[51] Satow, T. A. S. J., Vol. VIII, pp. 328-332.

[52] Such clay images are being found to-day here and there on the opening of ancient burial mounds.

[53] "Let there be complete cessation of all such ancient practices as strangling one's self to follow the dead, or of strangling others to make them follow the dead, or of killing the dead man's horse." *Nihongi,* bk. 25.

[54] Brinkley, Vol. I, pp. 85, 86.

[55] Ibid. p. 88.

The Great Reform—Seventh Century.

During the prehistoric ages down until the fifth century, when real history began, the process of the amalgamation of the originally heterogeneous elements had been going on and the product was a distinct type, worthy of being called Japanese, which showed marked improvement, both physically and mentally, over the original types.

Society, which had been military from the beginning, was governed by the emperor, the military head of the nation, and his advisers, the generals or chiefs under him.[56] The divine descent of the emperor and his own divinity were the cardinal articles of religion and principles of government. He was at once king and high priest.[57] Under him there was not the usual division into the two classes of priests and warriors, but gradually the nobles were differentiated as civil and military officials, the court nobility and the nobility of the sword. The peasants and other non-military members of society were despised, and looked up in subservience to their rulers. It is likely that it was the progenitors of the Japanese proper who formed the ruling and industrial classes, while the agriculturalists were the subjugated aborigines and the social outcasts of the Japanese.[58] Even the artisans, whose value to society was

[56] The ancient Mikado had gone to war in person. "He managed civil and military affairs personally." Kawakami, *Political Ideas,* p. 35. Brinkley (Vol. I, p. 173) calls the period prior to A. D. 645 the patriarchal age "when the sovereign was only the head of a group of tribal chiefs, each possessing a hereditary share of the governing power".

[57] He was "at the same time high priest and king. There was no well-marked distinction between secular and religious ceremonies. The functionaries who performed the latter had no specially sacerdotal character and no distinctive costume." Aston, *Shinto,* p. 200. "There was no priest.... The prieshood in Shinto has never been completely differentiated. The priest is essentially a layman with certain added functions for religious occasions. There is no trace in our sources of the head of the family as priest,—a very significant omission." G. W. Knox, *The Development of Religion in Japan,* p. 27.

[58] It is fair to assume that many of the aborigines remained attached to the soil which their fathers had cultivated and it is also likely that some of the inferior individuals among the invaders had been made to

recognized, received little public consideration. They generally formed part of a noble's household, and occupied a position not greatly better than that of vassals in whom their patrons enjoyed a right of property. It was not until shortly before the period now under consideration that they were released from this state of bondage and granted the status of ordinary subjects.[59]

The theory had been early developed that the throne belonged to the one reigning family and that everything was ultimately under its ownership.[60] The right to hold office had descended generation by generation in the same family. Great importance naturally attached to questions of genealogy and rank. In the fifth century, intermixture and confusion of families was becoming a source of trouble, and accordingly the reigning Emperor gave command that all who laid claim to noble birth should submit to the ordeal of dipping their hands into pots of boiling water. Those whose hands were injured were pronounced deceivers while those who stood the trial unhurt were recognized as of noble lineage. From this time dates a marked distinction between the upper and lower classes.

The common people, the agricultural and industrial classes, were not slaves or even serfs, according to any acknowledged rendering of those terms, but beneath them were the "despised people" who were practically slaves. A man might be reduced to this condition for any one of six causes; even those of good birth were sometimes thus degraded. About five per cent. of the total population[61] belonged to this class. Although they were almost without exception well treated, some of them differing little from ordinary subjects, they were some-

do service. It is interesting to note here that it was not until the modern era that it was possible for these plebians to rise to patrician rank. Below them were the "despised people" mentioned *infra*.

[59] Brinkley, Vol. VII, pp. 69, *seq. passim*.

[60] Asakawa, pp. 126, 127.

[61] Probably two millions by this time. In the middle of the eighth century it was 3,694,331.

times sold, their value being[62] fifty or sixty dollars each, expressed in the currency of our day.

The country had early been divided among noble families which by the beginning of the seventh century had become large groups or communities occupying large tracts of land,[63] and paying tribute, often irregularly, to the emperor. There was thus already in existence a rudimentary form of feudalism, the natural outcome of which was that the power of the central government was weakened.

The heads of several of these great families,[64] who had be-

[62] "Eight hundred sheaves", or about forty bushels of rice.

[63] "Looking as far back as history throws its light, it is seen that the Crown's right of eminent domain was an established doctrine, but that, during the era of patriarchal government, large tracts of land came into the possession of the great governing families, and remained their property until the fall and virtual extermination of the last of these families in the early part of the seventh century." Brinkley, Vol. I. pp. 115 *seq.*

[64] The subject of clans, tribes, etc., in Japan is a most tempting one, but as full treatment of it would carry us beyond the limits of this essay, a conscious effort is made to avoid such words in the text. The meaning of the words would be different in the several periods of Japanese history. These terms have at least five different connotations according as they are employed to describe groups in different periods of Japanese social organization: (1) There were tribes or races in Japan which were fused together and became the first Japanese, but of their organization nothing is and probably nothing ever will be known. Moreover, as has been stated, they antedated Japanese society and so do not fall within the scope of our discussion. (2) The original population was divided into three classes, the divine branch, which consisted of the descendants of the gods; the imperial branch which included the descendants of the imperial families; and the foreign branch, comprising descendants of naturalized foreigners. Each of these three branches was divided again into many sections, each of which had a distinctive name, "Uji", or "Kabane". Japanese scholars who have studied in the West have translated "Uji" and "Kabane" by clan, for they assert that both these terms have the idea of a common ancestor, and therefore community of blood. The aggregation of families did not form a clan, but when the clan disintegrated families or houses began to form units of society. (3) The great families which held the administrative power

come the depositories of administrative power by monopolizing the principal offices of state as hereditary rights, had grown more and more arrogant and now despised the laws and even defied the authority of the sovereign. In their breasts was the desire for greater power, and they were deterred only by the fact that none felt strong enough to wrest the imperial power and maintain himself against those who would have become his opponents. The stability of the throne being threatened it was all too evident that it was urgently necessary to crush the power of these noble families.

The times were ripe for change and indeed a change was absolutely necessary. Culture and morality were on different planes. Superstition had invaded every domain of life. There was no religion and no morality worth the name. Great families had become so powerful that the state was threatened with disruption.

The social upheaval which followed is known as the "Taikwa Reformation". What brought about the change was contact with the civilizations of Korea and China.[65] It is hoped

of the government in the few centuries of the historic period just preceding the "Great Reform" are often referred to as tribes, and the "quasi-tribal" organization of society is a term in constant use. The same plan is followed, but with less uniformity, in speaking of the great families which later became prominent and practically took into their hands the reins of the government, and held them until the twelfth century. (4) The hereditary corporations, "Be", are often spoken of as clans, but there was no tie of blood relationship between the various corporations or between the members comprising the same corporation. They were rather guilds, except that the same duty or occupation descended from father to son. (5) The groups under the fuedal lords, even down until 1868, are often designated clans in the absence of a better term. Ancestor-worship, practically universal among the people from prehistoric times until to-day, further complicates the problem. The whole subject is worthy of the careful study of trained sociologists. The Japanese who have greatest interest in it, almost without exception, are those who have studied in the West, and much of what they have written has been printed in English or other European languages.

[65] Much is made of the relation of a people to their physical environment and certainly the climate and soil of Japan, the numerous vol-

that enough has been said to show that before the influence of the continent was felt there was already in Japan a distinct Japanese civilization, rudimentary though it may have been, whose institutions had been evolved on Japanese soil without the aid of and apart from the interference of other nations.

Korea and China were known to the Japanese not only through the immigrants who came from those countries, usually never to return to their native homes, but the annals of all three lands tell of intercourse between them. The Japanese claim of having subjugated Korea early in the Christian era must not be taken seriously.[66] Presents were sometimes exchanged between the rulers but the Japanese are not justified in construing this as the sending of tribute to their sovereign by a subject people. The Chinese history, which in this matter can certainly be relied upon, makes definite record of three visits of Japanese envoys to the Chinese court during the opening of the Christian era. China had not only reached a position of national greatness but had also attained a high degree of civilization and culture. The splendor of that civilization was dazzling to the eyes of the less-advanced Japanese. A Korean named Wani, who came to Japan early in the fifth century and was afterward naturalized, was appointed tutor in Chinese to a Japanese crown prince. "He was the first of a succession of teachers from that country whose instructions paved the way for a revolution in Japanese institutions and manners."[67] In the same century the policy of specially im-

canoes and frequent earthquakes, have exerted a great influence in the development of the people and their national character. Of even greater importance was their practical isolation, due to the fact that theirs was an island home.

[66] This armed invasion of Korea under an empress constitutes one of the most celebrated and at the same time one of the most disputed incidents of Japan's history. "The Japanese never set foot at all in that part of Korea subject to immediate Chinese influence, except for a few months during Hideyoshi's invasion, towards the end of the sixteenth century. The Japanese never ruled directly any part of Korea." E. H. Parker, *Race Struggles in Korea,* T. A. S. J., Vol. XVIII, p. 158.

[67] Aston, *Nihongi,* Vol. I, p. xii.

porting skilled aid direct from China was inaugurated, and large bodies of female weavers and embroiderers were invited to settle in Japan. Marked progress in many of the essentials of civilization was made after this great wave of Chinese and Korean immigration.[68]

Of greater importance than the appearance of the externals of material civilization was the advent of Buddhism in the year 552. Confucianism had made its appearance earlier, but had shown itself utterly powerless to raise the moral standards or change the lives of the people.[69] The progress of Buddhism was most rapid. Members of the court became believers, and within a century the whole land was converted to the alien faith.

The native religion, or cult, almost entirely disappeared. Original Shinto was primarily the worship of nature. Subsequently, to give stability to the imperial power, worship of the imperial family was added, and in time reverence for the emperor, descended from the gods and himself a god, became its fundamental idea.[70] The political changes which took place in this period, strengthening the hold of the imperial line upon the throne, were of the utmost importance to Shinto. It escaped extinction,[71] but henceforth it was a religion whose

[68] "The Japanese, always ready to learn from others, have, from a period which may be called prehistoric, at various times invited Korean artists to settle in this country, and several schools of pottery are said to have been founded by these immigrants." E. Satow, *The Korean Potters in Satsuma,* T. A. S. J., Vol. VI, Pt. II, p. 193.

[69] It has in fact been blamed for the decline of morality in the fifth century already referred to. As Shinto was not a religion in the strict sense, this was an opportunity to demonstrate its power in a land where there was no religion, but this time it proved a complete failure.

[70] About this central idea Shinto developed a system of ancestor-worship which has continued to this day. The emperor as the decendant of the imperial ancestors, embodying in himself all their virtues and all their rights and duties, is the central figure of the whole system of ancestor-worship. "The worship of the Imperial Ancestors is the national worship." Nobushige Hozumi, *Ancestor-Worship and Japanese Law,* p. 21.

[71] "This political motive, the theoretical establishment of the Imperial

core was essentially political.[72]

Occasional pestilence and famine had swept away large numbers of people, but enjoying peace and prosperity the population had steadily increased. This increase of population, with greater division of labor, and territorial expansion made necessary a more complicated governing organization. In 645 the power of the last of the great families which had threatened the throne was annihilated. Those who had held administrative power as hereditary rights, and in practical independence of the sovereign, were compelled to restore it.[73] The sovereign became the real emperor and was no longer separated from the people by nobles who usurped his authority. The emperors before this time had usually been in sympathetic touch with the people, but now they felt more than ever that it was necessary to have popular support.[74] The constitution promulgated in 645 embodied the principles of constitutional monarchy. The government was reorganized and the administrative system remodelled. "Eight Departments of State were created, and the organization of the government was brought to a fairly perfect state."[75]

The ideas as to the organization of the state had been imported almost bodily from China, but Japan had developed

regime, saved Shinto from extinction. Otherwise it would have disappeared in Buddhism." Knox, *Development of Religion,* p. 64.

[72] "Its noblest mission could not rise higher than its enunciation of the theory of the Imperial succession." Asakawa, *Early Institutional Life,* p. 128.

[73] "People were declared the direct subjects of the monarch, and all lands were restored to the central government." Kawakami, *Political Ideas,* p. 39.

[74] "A Rescript of the Emperor Kotoku (A. D. 645-654) says:—'He that is the Sovereign of a country and that rules its people, would do well not to govern by himself alone: he should avail himself of the assistance of his functionaries'." Prince Hirobumi Ito, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan,* p. 85.

[75] *Op. cit.,* pp. 21-22. This strongly centralized government, with the accompanying bureaucracy, which was developed and given shape between 645 and 701, is with some modifications the official organization of the Japanese Empire to-day. V.*op. cit.,* p. 22.

her own doctrine regarding the imperial authority.[76] This political revolution has been broadly described as the result of the introduction of Chinese civilization through the medium of Buddhist priests. What the Koreans brought was Chinese, Korea owing to her geographical position being only the intermediary. While the Japanese accepted Buddhism and made it the national religion,[77] they adapted it so that it became a religion almost essentially different from that brought by the priests from the mainland. The political changes, too, were due to the contact with the continent; but the ideas were assimilated and applied to Japan. Thus while Japan appropriated much in religion and politics, everything was made to conform to Japanese ideals.

Development and Assimilation.

The Taikwa Reformation was accomplished in the year 645, but the way had been prepared for it forty years before. The principles of the Reform reached their consummation in 701, when the Taiho Code was promulgated.[78]

Officials were divided into ranks, each of which had its distinctive costume. Strict rules of etiquette were observed at court. Regulations were made for the taking of the census at certain intervals, measures relating to taxation were adopted, and rules for the organization of the army were instituted. All land was now in possession of the state and registered as public property, but much of it was distributed among the people for limited periods of years.[79] For purposes of con-

[76] "The principles of the Reform were partly Chinese and partly Japanese; Chinese as to the organization of the State, and Japanese as far as the theory of sovereignty was concerned." Asakawa, *Early Institutional Life*, pp. 323, 327.

[77] Not however as a union of church, or religion, and state. In so far as such union may be said ever to have obtained in Japan this honor has always been reserved for Shinto.

[78] This was a comprehensive Code, which first reduced to written terms the entire body of law including specifically a criminal code with provisions for appeal.

[79] Private sales of land were interdicted. Lands loaned by the State

venience the empire was divided into fifty-eight provinces with over five hundred sub-divisions, in each of which there was a certain amount of local self-government.

Although, because of political differences, amicable relations with Korea had ceased and the number of Korean immigrants had become less, there was no decrease in the number of Chinese. The latter were welcomed and often given official positions. Nor can this political preferment be wondered at, for there were not qualified Japanese to assume charge of all the bureaux of the reorganized government. Nearly all who came to remain were naturalized and mingled their blood with that of the composite Japanese race.

The two cultures, previously different from each other both in degree and in kind, were fused into one which was not a copy of the Chinese nor was it any longer purely Japanese. Japan had turned to China at a time when she felt the need of political ideas and a higher civilization. The Middle Kingdom proved to the Island Empire all that Greece and Rome were to the nations of Europe. Japan had drunk deep at the fountain of Chinese civilization and the Buddhist religion and there was a distinct change in the national character. Now she felt that it was necessary for her to examine her new-found possessions, and, while adopting and assimilating them, to make them truly her own.[80] Relations with Korea had already ceased before the close of the last

were to be returned every six years for the purpose of redistribution. *History Empire of Japan,* pp. 72-73, *passim.*

[80] "There is no department of Japanese national life and thought whether material civilization, religion, morals, political organization, language, or literature, which does not bear traces of Chinese influence . . . We must not, however, forget the native genius of the Japanese nation, which, in spite of numerous external obligations, has yet retained its originality. The Japanese are never contented with simple borrowing. In art, political institutions, and even religion, they are in the habit of modifying extensively everything which they adopt from others, and impressing on it the stamp of the national mind." Aston, *Japanese Ltterature,* pp. 3, 4.

period. In the eighth century the Chinese were in the ascendancy, but before the ninth century ended there was a cessation of intimate relationship with the Chinese Empire. During the succeeding four hundred years communication between Japan, China and Korea was rare and couched in formal terms.[81] Japan was secluded from the outside world. These were centuries of peace and prosperity. In this period of seclusion Japan reached what from some points of view has been called her "golden age".

In a land where the sovereigns were held in such high respect that they were worshipped, their acceptance of a foreign religion at a time when they were in closest touch with and had greatest hold upon the masses must have had a great moral effect upon the common people. In Japan innovations have usually moved from above downwards, and the case of the Buddhist religion was not only not an exception but was one of the most conspicuous examples of this tendency. Japanese historians say that nothing could exceed the devotion of the imperial house to the Buddhist religion. At the capital a magnificent temple was built, and a little later an enormous bronze image of Buddha[82] was cast and overlaid with gold. After those at court had become adherents of the new faith, the sovereign commanded every house to have a Buddhist altar, and images to be made for governors of provinces, temples to be built for priests and nuns, and forbade the slaying of animals and the eating of flesh.[83] Members of all classes of society acquiesced. Ignorant folks, seeing the gorgeous paraphernalia of the temples and the solemnity of the rites performed there, were awed into faith. But here and there were those who were loath to renounce allegiance to the native gods. The national pride of some was

[81] Asakawa, *Early Institutional Life*, p. 333.

[82] This Daibutsu, or Gigantic Image of Buddha, at Nara was cast in A. D. 749. It is in sitting posture, with the legs crossed, and is the largest in Japan, the height of the image being fifty-three feet.

[83] Newton, *Japan: Country, Court, and People*, pp. 64 *seq.*

hurt. To them the national acceptance of the Indian religion which had come by the way of China meant the supplanting of the native faith by a foreign creed. Their hesitancy caused a cunning priest to give careful thought to the matter, and he made the fortunate discovery that the Sun Goddess, the ancestor of the first emperor, was herself an incarnation of Buddha, and all the gods in the Shinto pantheon manifestations of Buddha.[84] This pleased the people, and now nothing stood in the way of Buddhism's progress.[85]

As the Buddhist doctrines could not be comprehended without a mastery of Chinese, this was studied diligently and it became the language of scholarship. Buddhist priests, who were the leaders in spreading learning and the arts, were of course the teachers. But the Chinese classics consisted of the teachings of Confucius,[86] and thus these became known to

[84] "Buddhism has ever shown an adaptability to the circumstances in which it has found itself, and therefore in the study of any particular phase of Buddhism we shall be studying the characteristic idiosyncracies of the nation which professes it." J. Summers, *Buddhism, and Traditions concerning its Introduction into Japan,* T. A. S. J., Vol. XIV, p. 77.

"In the ninth century the Shinto gods were declared to be incarnations of Buddha, and a composite religion, Ryobu Shinto, was formed. But while the name was Shinto its substance was Buddhism." Knox, *Religion in Japan,* p. 67, n. 2.

[85] The power of Buddhism was never so strong again in Japan as in this period. "Never did any alien faith find warmer welcome in a foreign country." Brinkley, Vol. I, p. 97.

[86] Confucianism had not at first made a good impression. "When Confucianism was first introduced into Japan, the simple-minded natives, deceived by its plausible appearance, accepted it with eagerness, and allowed it to spread its influence everywhere. The consequence was civil war." The native scholar, Mabuchi, quoted by Satow, T. A. S. J., Vol. III, App. II, p. 13. But, as Satow hints, the strictures of Mabuchi are probably too severe.

"Japan gradually declined under the moral drought that at first followed the introduction of Confucianism, and sank rapidly for centuries. It was not until her true national impulses, making their way again through a powerful organism, which had been severely shaken, but not destroyed, led her to change her course and engraft upon her own stock

scholars. Buddhism had absorbed into itself much of the philosophy of the great sage of China, but the immediate study of his principles later gave to Japan the basis of her morals and ethical system.[87]

Chinese civilization and culture swept everything before them. The conversion of the land to Buddhism and the changes in the administrative departments of the government were only the first, although the most important, of the changes brought about. The very appearance of the country was altered, for in addition to the native Shinto shrines Buddhist temples now sprang up everywhere. Fine residences and spacious mansions were built according to the models of Chinese architecture, and landscape gardeners added beauty to the surroundings.[88] Skilful weavers turned out silk cloth and brocade of excellent quality, and seamstresses and embroiderers produced silk garments of wondrous beauty. The very best robes were still imported from China. In all there were two hundred and sixteen varieties of dress. The Chinese fashion of adorning the person with jewels, however, failed to take deep hold and did not long survive.[89]

Koreans had been the first teachers of Japanese sculptors and painters, but they had cultivated only the taste of their pupils for appreciation of the higher art of China.[90] The

the principles of foreign origin,—from which combination sprang the civilization peculiar to herself,—that she at last found the prosperity and happiness she had in vain looked for in the mere copy of the Chinese government and ethics." "A native moralist", quoted by Le Gendre, *Progressive Japan,* pp. 2, 3.

[87] It was really the good points in the Confucian system, taught by the Buddhist priests, which first gave a high moral tone to the Japanese national life. Confucianism grew in favor and in the next period was a more potent factor in moulding the national character than was Buddhism.

[88] An edict required that all roofs must be tiled. Few things in Japan to-day are the cause of as much aesthetic enjoyment as the work of the landscape gardener's art.

[89] Chinese customs were adopted almost *in toto,* but many were rejected after trial.

[90] Chinese painters devoted themselves to religious subjects. "Japanese

artists who came over from the peninsula to teach the art of pottery also found apt pupils. The art of lacquer manufacture was introduced from China, probably in the train of Buddhism. The teaching of foreign music was encouraged. Medicine too was introduced by Chinese physicians. Sword makers were held in high honor and they forged excellent blades of steel. The Japanese had learned how to manufacture paper and ink. Printing was done with wooden blocks, and several specimens of printing done in the year 770 are still extant.[91] The several classes of artisans were distributed throughout the land so as to extend the range of the several arts and industries.

The art of writing, introduced from China through Korea, was slavishly copied. A native priest[92] invented a syllabary for the fifty sounds, but all else was Chinese. Literature flourished and a person who could not compose poems was beneath notice. This was the golden age of *belles-lettres*.[93]

pictorial art is permeated with Chinese affinities. The one is indeed the child of the other, and traces of this close relationship are nearly always present in greater or less degree..... It may, indeed, be fairly claimed for the Japanese that in some branches of painting their modifications deserve to be regarded as efforts of original genius, and that, speaking generally, their work is superior to that of the Chinese in tenderness, and, above all, in humor. But, for the rest, they sit at China's feet. Korea should also be included among their masters, for there is evidence that Korean influence preceded Chinese." Brinkley, Vol. VII, p. 16.

[91] Satow, *History of Printing in Japan,* T. A. S. J., Vol X, p. 49. Satow possesses a copy of a treatise printed in 1248. *Ibid.* p. 52.

[92] Kobo Daishi, the most famous priest in Japanese history.

[93] "This was the brilliant age of Japanese classical literature, which lived and moved and had its being in the atmosphere of an effeminate court." Chamberlain, *Things Japanese,* p. 213.

Those who believe that in early society the poetical temperament finds its highest perfection will find little support for their views in the case of Japan. The earliest literature, the "Records" and "Chronicles", has preserved for us about two hundred songs or poems, but their merit as literature is small. Japanese poetry was a later development and was less influenced by China than prose has been. *Cf.* Aston, *Japanese Literature,* pp. 7-9, *passim.*

Brinkley says[94] that in this period Japan passed "from a comparatively rude condition to a state of civilization as high as that attained by any country in the world, from the fall of the Roman Empire to the rise of modern Occidental nations". But, as he would probably admit, high as the civilization was, it could not be said to secure in a high degree the material welfare of the masses. If the contentment of the people be the standard, it may rightly be said that Japan had reached a high plane of civilization, for the people, joyous and light-hearted, and willing to work, were contented and easy to rule.

While luxury had crept into the life of the court and of those who formed the upper classes of society, the mass of the people were overburdened with onerous taxation and their lot was hard indeed. One of the taxes exacted from every male over twenty-one years of age was the performance of ten days public work each year, but, as such service could be commuted for one piece of cloth, this *corvée* fell ultimately only on the lower classes. The implements used in agriculture were most primitive. All labor was done by hand and there was almost no live-stock on the farms.[95]

It is little more than a guess to say that trade by barter was probably carried on here and there, for there is no one point on which the records, by this time full and complete on other subjects, are as silent as this. Just at the close of the fifth century some foreign coins had been brought in by immigrants, but they did not get into general circulation. Gold and silver were not valuable in the eyes of the Japanese and they made no use of them before this.[96] Even copper coins

[94] Vol. I, p. 98.

[95] As to agricultural methods, England was not in 1700-1760 far in advance of the Japan of eight centuries earlier. *Cf.* A. Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution,* pp. 43-44.

[96] Indeed they never used the precious metals to any extent as coins, but rather to make idols, bells and works of art. "Although gold and silver were known in China from the earliest times, the first Japanese gold was found and melted in A. D. 749, and the first Japanese silver in the year 674. It is a remarkable fact that the discovery of these

like the cash in use in China were not cast in Japan until the eighth century, and after they were struck the people did not know how to use them as media of exchange, and much effort was necessary to get them to use the coins.[97] Surely we are justified in inferring that exchange by any name did not play any considerable or important part in the national life. Each family aimed to be economically independent. The nobles and great families had laboring for them groups of artisans who formed classes resembling guilds. But what they produced was not for sale, or even primarily for exchange. Trade with other nations was hardly dreamed of.[98] Occasional presents from Korea and China served to keep the Japanese informed as to the progress of industrial arts in those lands, and each new article was eagerly copied, but usually so modified that it became something new and distinctively Japanese.

In theory the centralized bureaucracy was an ideal government for Japan, but in reality the Japanese were not prepared for it. The governors of the provinces were sent out from the central government and were amenable to it. The heads of Departments were responsible to the throne. Every citi-

metals, which were known to the Egyptians, the Chinese and old Greeks, and of which Moses and Homer already speak very distinctly, was not made in Japan at an earlier period." J. A. Geerts, *Useful Minerals and Metallurgy of the Japanese,* T. A. S. J., Vol. III, p. 3.

[97] "In order that the people might be more readily inclined to receive coined money, an edict was issued, granting titles to those who stored more than a certain amount. The emperor seemed to think that if the people once had it in their possession there would be no further question of its circulation." Y. Kinoshita, *Past and Present of Japanese Commerce,* p. 39.

[98] "Foreign commerce was considered a government monopoly, if not in fact a government function Individuals were not permitted to trade directly with foreign merchants, and foreign commerce assumed the character of official business. Inasmuch as there were no free transactions between foreigners and the people, all imports were brought in by the foreigners. The imports were mainly silk textiles, brocades, embroidered goods, and coin. In regard to exports, Japanese history is silent." *Op. cit.,* p. 36.

zen was the direct subject of the sovereign, who at the time might rightly have been called the "father of the people".

But lives of luxury were not calculated to produce strong rulers. One of the ministers, faithful in office, was favored by the reigning emperor; and the Fujiwara family, of which this minister was the head, soon became stronger than any of the families had been before the Great Reform. All the civil offices fell into its hands, and all the wives and favorites of the emperors were taken from among its members. Several emperors while mere children were compelled to abdicate in favor of successors who were themselves mere children, and after abdicating to become Buddhist monks and retire to monasteries. Thus for over four centuries the Fujiwara were the real regents of the country. Bureaucracy was substituted for imperialism and the throne was subordinated to the nobility.[99] All over the land office bearing again became hereditary and responsibility to the central government was almost forgotten. As the Fujiwara gradually became addicted to luxurious habits their centralized control decayed.[100]

There was thus a tremendous gulf between the throne and the people, and a sharp distinction between the upper and lower classes, the one ruling over the other and in turn supported by it. After the overthrow of the last of the great houses who had held the reins of the government before the Great Reform and the changes in government which accompanied their

[99] The interval of forty years at the close of the last period, seventh century, may be regarded as the only time in all the long history of Japan prior to modern times when the emperor ruled with undivided authority.

[100] "The reckless expenditure of the court and of the patrician class necessitated such heavy rates of taxation that the farmers had to borrow money and rice from officials or Buddhist priests, and since they had nothing to offer by way of security except their lands, it resulted that the temples and the nobles began to acquire great estates of which the Government hesitated to resume possession, as prescribed by law, and the agricultural population gradually fell into a condition of practical serfdom. So miserable was their plight that many preferred to embrace the status of slaves, and others turned to highway robbery and piracy." Brinkley, Vol. I, p. 161.

overthrow, there had been left no military class. The bearing of arms had been forbidden. The soldiers lived with the farmers, from whom they were not distinct. By a permanent arrangement, instituted during the Reform and already referred to, certain ones of the "neighboring fives" were to be prepared to become fighters in case of hostilities against the aborigines. More or less struggle between these peasant-soldiers and the Ainu had developed their military qualities and they were now the exact opposite of the cultured but effeminate families living in the capital. Gradually forming two rival parties these military men struggled for supremacy and then the stronger wrested the administrative power from the throne and in 1192 set up a new capital. The leader of this stronger party did not become emperor, but, receiving the title of Sei-i Tai Shogun—Barbarian-subduing Generalissimo—from the sovereign, established a system of military feudalism of which he was the head. The civil governors of the several provinces had become autocrats recognizing no authority, but the Shogun appointed from among his own people military governors who were responsible to him. Military democracy had triumphed over imperial aristocracy.[101]

The Shogunate and Feudalism.

The shogun, being only the head of the army and obeying the behests of his master, the emperor, would have been what the Fujiwara regents had been in theory. But, as has been shown, the Fujiwara paid little or no attention to the wishes of the emperors. Their sons held all the high offices of state and their daughters became the wives or concubines of the "sons of heaven", who were too exalted personages to rule in person. But, while the Fujiwara were the real regents, they lived at the capital and from there ruled the land, until the power little by little fell from their grasp. When the shogun established a new capital[102] the seat of power was transferred

[101] Brinkley, Vol. II, pp. 2-10, *passim*.

[102] Kamakura, which soon became a city of a million or more inhabitants.

to it. Imperial power had faded away, but the divine right of the emperor was not called into question.[103]

The period from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century is by far the most interesting of Japanese history. Among the great men were many noble characters but their deeds have little interest for us. One great family after another rose to power,—practically founded a dynasty,—became incompetent, and was overthrown. There were wars and rumors of wars and for centuries Japan was a military campground. Each new party fought avowedly to restore the power to the rightful sovereign but former usurpers were hardly out of the way before the emperor was forgotten and a new shogun ruling in his stead. At times the imperial family was without the means of subsistence and there were occasions when it was difficult to secure sufficient funds to properly bury emperors.

And yet while all this was taking place the country prospered. Japan's feudal wars were not fought for economic reasons, though they doubtless had their economic side. Military prowess was held in higher esteem than great wealth. Among the common people there was no lack of the necessities of life, although they were compelled to support the fighting men and their families, except when by the fortunes of war they lost their all. From such temporary disasters they were soon able to recover.[104] There was always a center of culture, refinement, and luxury, which usually had ample support.

In the provinces wealth and power fell into the hands of him who was the strongest. The land belonged to the im-

[103] "The over-centralization of the imperial bureaucracy, however, was the cause of its own decay. Its neglect of provincial administration led to local disturbances and the creation of baronial estates, over which the Kioto court exercised no active control. The real authority thus came into the hands of the strongest baronial power, whose representative, vested by the Mikado with the title of Shogun, or commander-in-chief, ruled the country as regent, the Mikado retaining but a nominal sovereignty over the empire." Kakuzo Okakura, *The Awakening of Japan,* pp. 22-23.

[104] Convulsions of nature added to the horrows of civil war. Earthquakes and tidal waves destroyed armies of peaceful inhabitants.

perial government, if such existed, but it was regarded as the legitimate spoil of anyone who could take it. Naturally these provincial magnates found it necessary, and indeed to their interest, to recognize the authority of anyone who might be the shogun in power and to furnish whatever help he might demand. The Buddhist temples held large estates and much property, for at times great wealth had been showered upon them. The priests were a power which had to be reckoned upon,[105] and when they could not be conciliated their fierceness as fighters made them inferior to none. Their possessions were not at stake, but their interference in politics was "simply for the worldly ambition of obtaining power".

There were these three parties:—an effeminate court at the real capital of the emperor; a military class at the head of which was the shogun who was nominally the head of the army, receiving his appointment from the emperor; and the priests, wealthy, ambitious, defiant. The mass of the people, having little interest in politics, went about their accustomed duties almost unaffected by the great questions of the day. Common interests bound them together into territorial groups more or less independent of each other. At the time of the Reform

Storms and typhoons laid waste the land. Drought, so severe that thousands of fir-trees died, brought on famines. The mere mention of several events in the last twenty years will help us to imagine the greater disasters of the fifteenth century. The Gifu earthquake in 1891 killed or wounded twenty-two thousand persons and left over a million homeless. A tidal wave in 1895 killed thirty thousand. A volcanic eruption in 1888 caused the death of four hundred and sixty-one. The failure of the rice crop bringing distress to hundreds of thousands in several provinces only three years ago is still fresh in many minds.

[105] "The power, numbers and wealth, of the Buddhist monasteries had vastly increased. They threatened to monopolize the land of the empire; the head of a monastery was equal or superior to one of the most powerful princes. Not only were the priests themselves living off these lands, but each of these establishments had a number of retainers and soldiers sufficient to change the tide of success in any engagement." W. Dickson, *Japan*, pp. 84, 85.

it had been decreed that civil and military offices should be distinct and separate, but a new military class had soon sprung up which finally[106] took charge of all civil offices by establishing a military administration, requiring all the military governors to report to the central government. The office of shogun was that of an individual appointee, but like all other offices became hereditary. The same was true of the military governors, who became feudal lords,—daimyos, with great numbers of retainers and large holdings of land. The military governor, or feudal lord, was simply the strongest, most powerful, of the military class, and the shogun the one able to gain supremacy over all the rest.[107] For this reason, although the office was hereditary, it did not long remain in the same family. At first the military party had had nothing to do with the civil offices, but when they assumed permanent control of the administration of the government of the purely agricultural population they instituted a type of feudalism which lasted for seven hundred years.[108]

[106] That this was inevitable was clear almost a century before it took place. The reigning emperor, becoming alarmed, tried in vain to stem the tide by issuing an edict forbidding the fighting men of any of the provinces from constituting themselves retainers of either of the two great military families, which soon fell to fighting, the victor assuming control.

[107] Dickson, writing before the Restoration, said, "When the country is torn by civil war, then he who gets the power may take the title".

[108] From one point of view Japan has never had any other than a feudal form of government. Ancient society, until 645, was feudal, the military chiefs or local rulers having unlimited authority in their own districts, although acknowledging some sort of allegiance to the emperor. For less than a century, at the time of the Great Reform, when there was a centralized bureaucracy, the emperor was vested with real authority. Soon the local governors refused to obey the mandates of the central government; then followed the organized feudalism which lasted until 1868, when the system of centralization was revived.

"As in England the political institutions of feudalism may be said to date from the Norman Conquest, so we may say that in Japan its rise was late in the twelfth century. As, however, in England, we find the social elements of feudalism far back in the period previous to

Feudalism in Japan was the natural outgrowth of the circumstances in which the nation had been placed.[109] It was not the result of legislation, nor was its motive the securing of wealth. The shogun could not become the real emperor, nor did he aspire to that position. Neither he nor the feudal lords could own the land outright; for that belonged to the crown.

The majority of the people were engaged in agriculture, the methods of which had not perceptibly changed from its inception. The work required to produce a food supply was only fairly hard, and the conditions under which they labored were exactly those to which the people seemed adapted. Although the area of Japan in this era was much smaller than it is to-day, when it is not equal to that of single states of the American Union, its population grew to twenty millions by the time the civil wars ended at the close of the sixteenth century.[110] The

William the Conqueror, so, too, the germs of feudalism in Japan had been long existent before." Inazo Nitobe, *Bushido,* p. 5.

[109] A comparison of feudalism in Japan with that of Europe would be a most interesting study. There are more points of resemblance than of difference. It is a most striking and significant fact that in the most widely separated parts of the world two systems so analogous should have existed in almost the same centuries, the difference as to time being that Japan's lasted until only a few years ago. For such a study there is much material at hand.

[110] "A great increase of population may be, and generally, is a great and sure indication of real prosperity." Duke of Argyll, *The Unseen Foundations of Society,* p. 484.

The Dutch physician Kaempfer, after several years in the country, wrote in 1692, "It is scarce credible, what numbers of people daily travel on the roads in this country, and I can assure the reader from my own experience, having pass'd it four times, that Tokaido, which is one of the chief, and indeed the most frequented of the seven great roads in Japan, is upon some days more crowded, than the publick streets in any of the most populous town in Europe. This is owing partly to the Country's being extreamly populous, partly to frequent journies, which the natives undertake." E. Kaempfer, *The History of Japan,* Vol. II, p. 330.

In the census of 1721 some 26,061,830 persons were registered. Between that year and 1846 the complete census was taken fifteen times, with the result that the population was shown to be at an absolute stand-

effect of feudalism was to check the growth of industry. Great impetus had been given to industry centuries before by the Korean and Chinese immigrants,[111] but under the feudal regime each group manufactured only the articles used by itself. It was a recognized custom that the son should follow the occupation of his father. Some families thus became exceedingly skillful in making certain articles and each district became noted for some one production. Such articles, however, seldom left the districts where they were made,[112] for the spirit of trade seemed dormant.[113]

At the time of the Great Reform a system of general education had been formed, schools organized in various provinces,

still, for in the latter year the number of people was 26,907,625. Only one of the censuses made in the intervening years gave less than twenty-five million and none as many as twenty-seven million inhabitants. See G. Droppers, *The Population of Japan in the Tokugawa Period,* T. A. S. J., Vol. XXII, p. 262. And yet these were years and centuries of profound and unparallelled peace.

[111] The case of Japan was analagous to that of England at a later date, when the coming of immigrants from Flanders made possible and was even the cause of the great and rapid progress of England.

[112] Instead of buying goods it was the custom to employ a workman to make them. "By 1181 the fame of the Kyoto lacquer ware was such that moneyed persons and those who were fond of handsome furniture induced numbers of Kyoto workmen to come and settle in their provinces." J. J. Quin, *The Lacquer Industry of Japan,* T. A. S. J., Vol. IX, p. 4.

[113] In studying industry and trade under feudalism in Japan we find almost precisely the same conditions as Gibbins records concerning England,— "The feudal system even in a time of peace did not tend to any great growth of industry. For it encouraged rather than diminished the spirit of isolation and self-sufficiency.....Little scope was afforded to individual enterprise, from the fact that the consent of the lord of a manor or town was often necessary for the most ordinary purposes of industrial life.....It may be admitted also, that though the isolation of communities consequent upon the prevalent manorial system did not encourage trade and traffic between separate communities, it yet tended to diffuse a knowledge of domestic manufactures throughout the land generally, because each place had largely to provide for itself." H. DeB. Gibbins, *Industrial History of England,* p. 32.

and a university established at the capital. For a short period education flourished, but declined again when political power was transferred to the military class.[114] As the only honorable profession was that of a soldier, learning was lightly esteemed.[115] The golden age of literature had passed[116] and verse now composed was the light and graceful accompaniment of convivial parties. The sculptor now found his inspiration in the stalwart soldier. Painting flourished. At court—or more properly at that of the shogun—and among the wealthy classes politeness and refinement of manners and life became fixed in a code which has survived and which, until quite recently, gave an exquisite, though evanescent, charm to Japanese social life.[117]

[114] See report prepared and translated by the Japanese Department of Education, reprinted in U. S. Bureau of Education Circulars of Information, 1885, Vol. V, p. 481.

[115] "In 1467 and during the six following years, Kyoto became the battlefield of the rival retainers of the Ashikaga family, and the greater part of the city was twice burned to the ground. The loss of Japanese literature by the destruction of books is said to have been immense. Apart from the immediate effects of civil war, learning must necessarily have decayed during a period when the profession of the soldier was the only honorable calling." E. Satow, *Revival of Pure Shinto,* T. A. S. J., Vol. III, App. p. 4 .

[116] Aston calls the early part of the shogunate (1186-1332) "The Decline of Learning" and the next three centuries (1332-1603) "The Dark Age". Of the former he says, "The rule of a class to whose very existence a practical knowledge of war and warlike accomplishments was vital, and who necessarily neglected, if they did not despise, intellectual culture, was not conducive to the production of important literary works," and of the latter he writes, "These years were singularly barren of important literature in Japan." W. G. Aston, *Japanese Literature,* pp. 132, 164.

[117] "From 1338 to 1565, the Ashikagas ruled Japan as Shoguns. Their court was a center of elegance, at which painting flourished, and the lyric drama, and the tea ceremonies, and the highly intricate arts of gardening and flower arrangement. But they allowed themselves to sink into effeminacy and sloth, as the Mikados had done before them; and political authority, after being for some time administered less by them than in their name, fell from them altogether in 1597." B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese,* p. 215.

The religion which in earlier days had given to Japan a great spiritual uplift lost much of its spirituality through the participation of its priests in worldly affairs. Holding extensive estates, as great if not greater than those of the nobility, and much other property,—for their land-holdings were only one item of their immense wealth,—their time was largely taken up with managing material things. Piety was forgotten and temples were places not of worship but of display. The monasteries were in many cases castles in which the priests lived in every kind of luxury, and from which they tyrannized over the surrounding country. Many a Buddhist abbot rode armed and equipped at the head of his monks. As they were no longer mere religionists, they were on the same level as the political parties of the day and had to take their chances along with them on the field of battle. Engagements were often determined according as they threw their strength with one or another party. They aroused the opposition of one of the greatest generals Japan has ever had,[118] because he feared their influence, and fierce persecution followed. An army of sixty thousand men was insufficient to overcome the priests, and then for ten years Nobunaga fought to kill not only priests, but believers as well. The Zen sect, given to contemplation, which became the sect of the warrior class, remained a depository of spiritual power; and here and there in the other sects were to be found a few spiritually-minded persons, but the star of Buddhism had passed its zenith.

Shinto taught nature-worship, inspiring the people to love the country, and taught also ancestor-worship, which inspired loyalty to the emperor, even though he did not rule the

"Japanese etiquette is rapidly giving way before the powerful thawing influence of western customs. Its old bloom is gone beyond recall, for modern Japan is too busy over more important matters to busy itself with the minutiæ of *cha-no-yu* and other ceremonies. The conditions of life, too have changed, and even if the people would, they could not keep alive the elaborate Ogasawara rules of polite conduct.." J. M. Dixon, *Japanese Etiquette,* T. A. S. J., Vol. XIII, pp. 1-2.

[118] Cf. Griffis, *The Religions of Japan,* p. 312.

land. The Buddhist priests had taught the ethics of Confucius along with their own creed, so that the two were hardly separate for many hundred years; but soon after feudalism was established Confucianism was made over again by the Japanese[119] and gained popular favor for its own sake. Patriotism and loyalty, derived from Shinto, calm trust in fate, causing disdain of life and fearlessness of death, the outcome of the austere philosophy of the Zen[120] sect of Buddhism, and the ethical teaching of Confucius, jointly produced Bushido, "The Way of the Samurai". This, though not a religion, crystallized more nearly than aught else the religious impulses and the higher aspirations of the upper classes of society.

Early in the thirteenth century the Japanese, who had for about three hundred years been pursuing the policy of seclusion, were terribly frightened by Kublai Khan, the Mongol. Having overwhelmed Korea and China, he sent envoys on several occasions to Japan. Some of these messengers were expelled and some were killed by the Japanese. The whole affair covered twelve years, but finally, after immense loss of life in which a typhoon played an important part, Kublai gave up the attempt to subjugate Japan.[121] The country remained closed against trade with other nations, but after this Mongol invasion had been repelled Japanese pirates infested the seas as far south as Siam. Official intercourse with Japan was re-

[119] Of the five moral relations, the Chinese made that between father and son central and to them filial piety has always been fundamental. The Japanese, while emphasizing filial piety, gave the first place to the relation between master and servant,- the governing and the governed. This harmonized well with Shinto, which inculcated reverence for the sovereign on the part of all.

[120] "Zen represents human effort to reach through meditation zones of thought beyond the range of verbal expression." Hearn.

[121] Since then Japan has never been attacked from without. This attempt of the Mongols hardened the insular prejudice of the Japanese into a desire for complete isolation from the rest of the world. After the expulsion of the Christian missionaries several centuries later this desire became almost identical with the instinct for self-preservation.

vived by China and Korea at the end of the fourteenth century, but not for the purpose of exchanging courtesies, or for negotiating treaties, but to make complaints against Japanese piracy. The usual reply of the Japanese government was that it was unable to control the pirates; but one of the shoguns, who appreciated the arts and luxury of China and Korea, took steps for the suppression of piracy in order to foster trade with those countries.[122] Thinking that by this method he would be able to maintain his extravagant mode of life he sent embassies and priests abroad to engage in commerce. Fifty years later a commercial treaty was made with Korea, by the terms of which Japan might send ships to Korea for one hundred thousand bushels of Korean beans and rice each year. One hundred and fifty years after this the famous shogun Hideyoshi, "the Napoleon of Japan", with dreams of a world-wide empire, organized an expedition to conquer Korea and then China. His object was conquest and not trade. He met with disaster,[123] but the contact with the peninsula was not altogether without good effects, for the Japanese gained some useful knowledge of certain industrial arts.

Both the Portuguese and Japanese accounts of the discovery of Japan by the former in the middle of the sixteenth century are much confused, but there is no doubt that the Portuguese were the first Europeans to reach the coasts of Japan. They brought firearms, woven fabrics, and other luxuries, and introduced tobacco and potatoes; in return they carried away large quantities of precious metals, chiefly gold bullion.[124] Spanish

[122] Cf. Hishida, *The International Position of Japan,* pp. 68, *seq.*

[123] This invasion of Korea, which was absolutely without justification, cost Japan more than two hundred thousands lives. Thus ended relations with Korea, which became the "Hermit Nation". Two wars are the sequel of Japan's relations with her during the last few decades.

[124] Marco Polo had spread the report over Europe that Japan was a rich country with gold almost as abundant as lead was in Europe. Japan was really rich, but the stream of gold began to flow outwards, and millions of dollars left every year. Several hundred million dollars left within a century. On this general subject cf. Nitobe, *Intercourse between the U. S. and Japan,* pp. 7-11.

merchants soon followed the Portuguese. Both nations sent Christian missionaries, but among the Spaniards friars were more numerous than merchants. Christianity was warmly welcomed, and within a generation there were hundreds of thousands of converts. Several feudal lords were baptized and sent representatives all the way to Rome to receive the blessing of the Pope. The Christians had the protection of Nobunaga, the shogun who so fiercely persecuted the Buddhists. Rivalry between Portuguese and Spaniards[125] was most unfortunate in a land which was so spiritually fertile, for in one way or another the suspicion was aroused that the ultimate purpose of both was to gain possession of Japan for the Pope or for some one else in Europe. An order from the shogun banishing all the missionaries called forth loud protest from the feudal lords, the converted and many unconverted ones, on the ground that it was in violation of the freedom of religious opinion. A few left, but the edict was not strictly enforced. Persecution later followed and the roll of martyrs is a long one. The estimates vary widely, but in 1605 the number of Christians was between half a million and a million and a half; possibly there were even more. Christianity was interdicted and all who did not recant and trample upon the cross were ordered to be put to death. With the causes of this we cannot deal here.[126] Religion, poli-

[125] Cf. Satow, *The Origin of Spanish and Portuguese Rivalry in Japan,* T. A. S. J., Vol. XVIII, pp. 133-156.

[126] "It must be admitted that the intolerance which the Jesuits had taught must bear a great portion of the responsibility.....Moreover, the mutual hostility of the Christian orders, especially after the date of the arrival in Japan of some Spanish monks from Manila, could not but prejudice the Christian cause. And again, the unchristian life and evil example of the foreign traders and seamen at Nagasaki, Hirado and elsewhere, could not contribute to increase respect for Christianity itself. Those ports were the rendezvous of the most abandoned European adventurers, who delighted in vice of all kinds,..... and thus excited the disgust of all the better minded among the Japanese.....In the earliest Dutch books about Japan, the chief cause assigned is the treachery of the Jesuits, who had endeavored to turn Japan into a Portuguese or Papal province.....The English and

tics, and trade were all jointly concerned and the result was that the missionaries were expelled from the land. The country was closed and sealed. Only a few Dutchmen were allowed to remain,[127] for the purposes of trade only, on the little artificial island of Deshima, virtually a prison-house, in the harbour of Nagasaki. The edict of 1637 forbidding foreigners to land on the Japanese coast also forbade the natives to leave it, and this exclusive and inclusive policy was jealously maintained for the next two hundred years and more.

For more than a third of a millenium half a million men had been armed, and much of this time there was civil war. Tokugawa Ieyasu, the greatest of all shoguns, in 1603 reaped the fruits of the efforts of his immediate predecessors, Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, almost as great men as himself, and put an end to the long-prevalent state of warfare. The government was apparently feudal, but under Ieyasu it became virtually a mon-

Dutch also essentially influenced the decision of Ieyasu and his successors, since it was for their commercial interests to drive out the Portuguese, and they put no restraint on their hatred of the Catholic Portuguese and Spaniards." Rein, *Japan,* pp. 309, *seq.*

"Whatever was the real cause, the years of Hideyoshi and Ieyasu's domination saw the banishment of native converts, the expulsion of foreign ecclesiastics, and the summary trials and wholesale slaughter which rival in horror the fires of Smithfield or the rack of the Inquisition. These outrages gave rise in turn to the revolt of Shimabara in 1637, where 30,000 Christian peasants took arms against the persecutors. This revolt was extinguished in the blood of the insurgents, and Catholicism disappeared from our national life, surviving till the present era only in some of the retired villages." Nitobe, *Intercourse with Japan,* p. 13.

[127] The English had been unsuccessful and voluntarily withdrew in 1623. They later tried in vain to open up relations. The Chinese were not altogether excluded. In 1684 the annual importation of the Chinese merchants was limited to the same as that of the Dutch, about $840,000. In 1688 they were confined to a place which "had the horrible aspect of a strong prison", and for this they paid a yearly rent of over $2,000. Before this, rich young men from China, "came over to Japan, 'purely for their pleasure', and to spend part of their money with Japanese women". Cf. Kæmpfer, *History of Japan,* Vol. II, pp. 248-253, and Hildreth, *Japan as it was and is,* Vol. I, pp. 278-281.

archy. To be sure the "Son of Heaven" reigned, although Ieyasu governed the land. He paid personal homage to the emperor, for whom he built a palace at Kyoto, and he made ample provision for the welfare of the imperial family, but, under the guise of the sanctity of the high office of emperor, he deprived the sovereign of the last remnants of political authority. The feudal lords wielded semi-royal power in their own dominions but each was controlled more than ever before by the shogun. The daimyos were so arranged by him on the political chess board that political combinations between them were rendered impossible. All were required to spend half of the time in the shogun's capital and to leave their families there as hostages during the other half. They were also made to maintain there a number of retainers ready at call to do the bidding of the shogun. A system of espionage kept him informed of even the most trivial acts of the smallest and most distant daimyo. Thus every element of individual ambition was crushed out. The peace of two hundred and fifty years which followed would at least seem necessarily to lead to stagnation. "The Legacy of Ieyasu" outlined the policy which was followed by his thirteen successors, all of his family. Iemitsu, his grandson, perfected the system. Theoretically the daimyos all stood on an equal footing with the shogun, but he summoned them to his castle at Yedo (the present Tokyo) and made them all swear allegiance to him in the same manner as his own retainers. It was to avoid complications that he closed the country. Feudalism lasted for more than two hundred years after Iemitsu died in 1615, but social development had ended. National ideas and ideals had been cast in a mould, and the people fixed in classes, when the country was sealed.

Japanese social history by no means ends with feudalism, or even with the overflow of the feudal system. It is however well to rest here and now turn to analyze the social structure. We shall then be able better to understand and estimate the forces at work in present day society.

CHAPTER II.

The Social Structure.

Upon examination of the Japanese social structure of a half century ago we find it substantially the same as it was at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Indeed in its essentials there was almost no change in the organization of Japanese society from the time of the appointment of the "barbarian-subduing generalissimo" in 1192 until the appearance of the "western barbarians" in 1854. This is not surprising, for every element of the social order of the Restoration period existed in germ almost a thousand years before. History does not afford another example of a society worth the name developing naturally and free from outside disturbance. That external influences were at work cannot be denied, for the country was not hermetically sealed, but these were mere perturbations, not strong enough to effect any change in the social order or to interfere with its evolution.

Pride of rank and division into classes has always been characteristic of Japanese society. In all ages to be in any way connected with the imperial line has given the highest rank, no matter in whose hands the administrative power might be at the time. The ancient division into descendants of gods, or of the imperial families, or of naturalized foreigners, has been used to confirm the one-tribe theory of the origin of the Japanese people, including the bulk of them into the second division and thus connecting them with the imperial line. A strict system of registration caused faithful record to be kept of the families of those who had successfully undergone the ordeal which proved their patrician descent. Pride prevented frequent marriages with inferiors. For various reasons emperors elevated families, altogether overlooking their previous position in the social

scale; and such families frequently rose to still higher rank through the influence they were able to exert. Some of the shoguns who began life as farmers' sons reached almost the highest eminence. Many of the daimyos occupied their high positions in society not because of noble blood, but solely by reason of the fact that by military force they were able to become feudal lords. Again, it was certainly not because of any connection with patrician families that the samurai in time came to be regarded as superior to others. There was usually a wide gulf between the so-called upper and lower classes,—patrician and plebian, governing and governed. All of the latter were not on the same level; but among them, too, there were grades. There were barriers and restrictions of various kinds making it almost impossible to rise, but instances are not wanting where persons gave proof of signal ability by leaving behind them the lowly stations in which they were born.

All classes were so definitely fixed that there was almost a system of caste; it is, however, well not to use that term, for it is usually employed to designate some distinction based on religion, whereas in Japan the classes were determined by other standards.[1] The system of Ieyasu implied a social scale which summed up the principles according to which division had been made before his time, and which continued in force until a few decades ago.

The basis of Japanese social organization has always been the family, all the members holding the same social position as the head. In early times the members of a criminal's household, if not put to death with him, were reduced to slavery.[2]

[1] It is possible that the "outcasts" referred to later were such because the taking of life was concerned, and because this was a crime according to Buddhism. Cf. H. Faulds, *Nine Years in Nipon,* p. 284.

[2] An edict issued as late as 1692 is as follows: "The children of criminals who have been executed either at the stake or by crucifixion or by exposure, shall suffer the death of their parent, except when they are below fifteen years of age and are proved not to have had any share in the crime. In the latter case they may be entrusted to a relative until the age of fifteen, after which they shall be exiled." T. A. S. J., Vol. XXII, p. 279.

While a woman was never allowed to have more than one husband, the man was permitted to have concubines as well as a wife, and thus he might be the head of several households, including the servants. The head of the family had almost absolute power over its members and also over the property; but his rights carried with them corresponding responsibilities. In his family subordinate households related by blood might be included, and he be thus the head of a group of a hundred or even a hundred and fifty persons.[3] The connection of one family with others produced the great families, or houses, or clans already referred to. The individual members of a family did not have a separate existence or have the right to hold property.[4] There was necessity for the perpetuation of a family; if a man died leaving no male children his estate reverted to the state.[5] The greatest reason for keeping up the family line was that there might be some one to reverence and worship the family ancestors; the living family was only a link between the past and the future.[6] These

[3] Hearn and some others give to the family too wide an extent. "The Japanese family in early times meant very much more than 'household'; it might include a hundred or a thousand households; it was something like the Greek γένος or the Roman *gens*,—the patriarchal family in the largest sense of the term." Hearn, *Japan*, p. 28. There was a family between the *gens*, or clan, and the family as we understand it.

[4] In this and many other respects the family has been greatly modified since 1868, but even now it is quite different from what we understand by the word. In former times Japan had the *pater familias* system of Ancient Rome, but to-day some individuality is allowed, and every member has the right to hold property, although under certain restrictions. Cf. Baron Suyematsu, *Family Relations in Japan*, Transactions of the Japan Society of London, Vol. VI, pp. 391 *seq.*

[5] Ieyasu ordered (*Legacy*, Chap. 46) that persons should marry upon reaching sixteen years of age. "The family estate of a person dying without male issue and without having adopted a son, is forfeited without any regard to his relations or connections....." "In the event of an infant on the point of death wishing to adopt a child, there is no objection to his being allowed to prolong his race in the person of one who is of age." *Ibid*, Chap. 47.

[6] "The patriarchal family was shaped to maintain and to provide for

two considerations served to produce an artificial rather than a natural family. It was possible for a father to abdicate and give up his position as head of the family to a son. A wicked son might be sent away and thus debarred from the family. Younger sons in families where there was already an heir might be given outright to a family in which there was no male issue. A childless couple might adopt both a son and a daughter who should take the parents' name and afterward marry each other. Marriages were usually arranged by the family; in any case the family sanction was necessary.[7] This unity of the family was one of the causes already so often noticed of the tendency for all offices and honors to become hereditary. The family has brought Japan some of her greatest and most difficult problems, but it has also been the means of preserving the most valuable institutions. It is central, and its importance can hardly be overestimated.

Here is probably the best place to note the position of woman. As was pointed out, woman held a high place in early society. With the advent of Chinese civilization her position was lowered, for neither Buddhism nor Confucianism gave her as high a status as did purely Japanese ideas. Bushido, a product of the Japanese, having a large admixture of Chinese elements, also did little to elevate woman. The Japanese, however, while never treating woman as man's equal, have not been willing to relegate her to so low a place as that to which she is assigned by most Eastern nations. Children have usually been objects of affection and tender

the cult of its dead, and neglect of which cult was believed to involve misfortune." Hearn, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[7] Practically the same rule holds true to-day. "A man may not marry without the consent of his parents until he is thirty, a woman until she is twenty-five." In ancient times the penalty for marrying without the consent of the family was fifty stripes with a whip. When a man marries he seldom goes to a home of his own, but he and his wife usually go to live with his father's household. The *shinruikwai*, or family council, decides practically every important matter pertaining to every member.

care; but the occasional testimony of the laws and records concerning infanticide forbid too sweeping generalizations.

All other features of Japanese society might be and have been changed in one age or another; one, the most important, has persisted. The position of the emperor is the key to Japanese history. He reigns as the head of the nation, the descendant of the gods. At times his moral power over the people was altogether wanting, but his sovereign right is not based on virtue but divine descent. Administrative power was seized by individuals, and passed on in the same family; but regents and shoguns all received from him their appointment.[8] Honors conferred by him gave greater distinction than the highest granted by the greatest of his appointees. Ieyasu, the greatest shogun, gave unusual homage to his sovereign.[9] The temporal ruler managed the worldly affairs of the empire, maintaining that sacred seclusion was befitting the "Son of Heaven". Common people came even to question his existence on this earth, but devoutly worshipped him as the head of the nation. There was thus some justification for the notion in the West a half century ago that Japan had a sacred and also a temporal ruler, and it is easy to understand why foreign powers had for some years to deal with a dual government in which authority was divided in some strange way.

Prior to the Great Reform Japan had an emperor but no state. Then the Chinese pattern of government gave the form of a state, but the political network swallowed up the emperor. During the succeeding millenium of rudimentary and then

[8] "The shogun, the real head of the shogunate, was always appointed by the emperor, and exercised in his name only the civil and military administration of the country, which were accredited to him as the hereditary right of his family. Thus, what are called the 'rights of sovereignity' have remained uninterruptedly in the person of the emperor since the foundation of the Japanese Empire." *Japan by the Japanese,* p. 19.

[9] He provided that the coronation expenses of the emperor should not be parsimoniously diminished by his successors, and made better provision for his support than his predecessors had done. Cf. *Legacy,* Chap. 95.

organized feudalism the institution of the emperor preserved the continuity of the national life, and when finally he was restored in 1868 Japan for the first time as a nation had a state, at the head of which was the emperor. In his person the nation is united, and he is the inspiration of the national greatness. To him and his ancestors[10] all national success is attributed; and because of him the Japanese people have a reverence for authority not surpassed in any other nation.

The imperial household law provides for a successor to the throne, but in the event of failure in the direct line there have been several princely families from which an heir might be taken. Bearing in mind the plural wives of each emperor we understand the large and ever-increasing number of nobles. The empty life of the court and its surroundings through successive generations did not add to their virility. Shortly after the Reform two hundred and thirteen princes were censured for their laziness, but their portion of salt and rice was not withheld from them.[11] At that time ability was appreciated, and rank or office was given only to those of princely blood who showed capacity. The families of regents and others were added to the nobility, but in theory nobility of blood was usually more highly accounted than the rank which went with the most exalted office. Under feudalism certain noble families enjoyed the exclusive right of serving as ministers of state but this was empty formalism, for the administration was entirely in the hands of the military government of the shoguns. The families of these *kuge* (nobles),[12] continued in existence for hundreds and even a thousand years or more; and received the respect due them because of their relation to the court.[13]

[10] "The empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of emperors for ages eternal." "The emperor is sacred and violable." *Constitution of Japan,* Arts. I and III.

[11] Cf. Asakawa, *Early Institutional Life,* pp. 317-341.

[12] It will not be advisable within the limits of this essay to discuss the various sub-classes of *kuge,* daimyo, samurai, etc., but each of these will be spoken of in terms which will apply to the whole class.

[13] They resided at the capital of the emperor and not at that of the

Their effeminacy and degeneracy were the cause of their receiving scant support. All were not poor, for a few became daimyos, and others had other sources of income, but the majority were compelled to eke out their sustenance by painting and even by manual employments. These lessons of poverty were not lost on them, and while maintaining a semblance of dignity they became stronger in every way simultaneously with the dissipation and loss of vigor of those who controlled wealth and power under the feudal regime. The political tide which turned toward the emperor before the Restoration carried with it a few, although only a few, *kuge* who had greater political power than most of the feudal lords.

The emperor, as the fountain of honor, had the sole right to confer titles and rank. Forced from the sovereign though it may have been, the shogun prized highly his title of generalissimo, and he was usually invested with office by an imperial delegate. He was only a daimyo possessing power and ranked beneath the *kuge*. As has been pointed out, feudalism had begun before the appointment of the shogun and the establishment of his military government. On the other hand the military organization of society, then already an accomplished fact, was not from that moment identical with the feudal order; but it was inevitable that the military governors appointed to assist the nominal civil governors should soon sweep them out of office.[14] No order of the emperor could become law without the approval of the shogun. Those who became feudal

shogun. Of course those who were nominally provincial governors lived at first in the provinces.

[14] The bureaucratic government which grew out of the Reform had a continuous nominal existence, and the retention of this skeleton of civil organization, the high offices of which the emperor filled with *kuge* who as officials were shorn of power, was not without its use. The emperor, his court, and many of his subjects nourished the hope that ultimately the power would be restored to him. When that did occur the machinery of government was ready and what had been nominal for a thousand years became actual.

As our interest is social and not political no attention will be paid to the administration of the feudal government.

lords were the representatives of the shogun, chosen by him as his executives in the several districts. Because he was entrusted with the secular administration by the emperor, those taking part in any insurrection not having the sovereign's approval would be branded as traitors, and the sagacious shogun, Ieyasu, took care to arrange that none of the other daimyos might secure that approval from the sacred being who reigned as emperor. It was obviously impossible for any family to retain this high position having nothing but the sword with which to maintain itself, and with the gradual decay of the whole feudal system it was inevitable that the institution of shogun should disappear.

In the tendency of every office, honor, and privilege to become hereditary in Japan, and in the relation of the institution of the Japanese family to this tendency, we have the explanation of much that otherwise seems anomolous. The regulations instituted at the Reform governing the periodic redistribution of much of the land almost immediately fell into disuse, and the families holding it came to regard themselves as practical owners. Although they could not sell it, they could pass it on to their posterity and as long as the family was perpetuated the land might remain in its possession, unless forfeited because of crime or similar reasons. The salary of a minister was the produce of seventy-five to a hundred acres of land, and of other officials from two to fifty acres. Public merit was similarly rewarded, and the favor shown to religion put the temples and priests into control of large landed estates. All such land was tax-free. As practically none was ever restored to the government, and as each new claim to the emperor's favor added to the non-taxable area, the occupants of the remaining portions were subject to onerous burdens; but the opening up of new lands and the ability of the peasants to produce all that was needed for the entire population prevented any intolerable hardship.

Most of this tax-free land was not subject to the jurisdiction of the provincial governors, and this, coupled with the fact

that until the establishment of organized feudalism the central government was usually so weak as to be unable to exercise any control in the country districts, gave to the strongest man in each locality almost sovereign power. In some instances this person was the civil governor, perhaps a kuge; in others it was the largest land-owner, or holder; and in still others any person who could maintain himself against all comers. The first shogun appointed as military governors his own retainers or favorites, but time proved that in certain cases a local potentate would attain the ruling power in the district. The shogunate influence was of maximum intensity at the political center and diminished rapidly until at the outer edge it became almost zero. This was the cause of the five centuries of continued warfare. There was absolutely nothing of national unity except such as centered around the unseen emperor. These provincial magnates, without reviewing the steps by which they gained their power and control, came to be daimyos or feudal lords. One was lord of eight provinces and parts of two others,—perhaps a fourth of the total area of the empire at that time. In certain provinces the territory was divided up among several small daimyos. Daimyates changed frequently, for the sword was the only recognized title to possession. About the middle of the sixteenth century these independent feudal barons reached the zenith of their greatness. When Ieyasu assumed control of the whole country he recognized four other daimyos as his equals, and when they visited his castle at Yedo (Tokyo), he went to the edge of the city to meet them; but his grandson, Iemitsu, assumed absolute authority and put all under him on a level. These two shoguns dispossessed some daimyos and created others.[15] They laid down the principle that the lords should not remain too long in one fief, and accordingly occasionally removed them from one place to another.[16] They

[15] The total number of daimyos of all classes at this time was two hundred and ninety-two.

[16] "The territories entrusted to the Daimyo, with the exception of the Kokushiu, shall not be perpetuated to successive generations. They should be interchanged every year, the territories being apportioned rel-

did not, however, lightly interfere with the lords who had greatest power and influence.

To understand the samurai we must revert to the military organization.[17] The Great Reform saw the abolition of a military class and the prohibition of the bearing of arms.[18] An army was, however, provided for by the requirement that the strongest men in each "neighboring five" should be prepared to fight when necessary.[19] It would seem that the militant spirit and mere love of warfare caused the establishment of the military shogunate. There was at that time no separate samurai class. Soldiers were necessary to guard a country, and food was necessary for the maintenance of troops, so that soldiers and farmers were mutually dependent. Each farmer prepared himself and, selecting from among those living on his land the men who were physically strongest and therefore best qualified to become soldiers, trained them

atively. Should the territory entrusted to one Daimyo remain in his possession for too long a time, he is certain to become ungovernable and oppress the people." *Legacy,* Chap. 49. The ostensible purpose of this was to prevent misgovernment, but it was undoubtedly to prevent a daimyo from acquiring local influence or possibly uniting with the neighboring daimyos in rebellion against the shogun.

[17] "Since the period of Taiho (701-703 A. D.) armies have been organized, and young people capable of bearing arms have been called upon to enlist. In the time of the emperor Jito (687-696) one-fourth of the young men arriving at majority were enlisted. This is the origin of the system of conscription in this country. Subsequently, the assumption of the power of the state by military families, led to the isolation of the military from the farming class, and, all military affairs having been monopolized by the one class, the old conscription system was for a long time in a state of extinction." Ito, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire,* p. 40.

[18] "A general interdict was then issued against the unauthorized possession of arms and armor by private persons, but dwellers in the remote parts of the east were exempted from this prohibition on the ground of their liability to attack by the aborigines." *History of the Empire of Japan,* p. 78.

[19] "In the early ages of Japanese society there was no distinction between farmers and warriors: all able-bodied farmers were then trained fighting-men, ready for war at any moment." Hearn, *Japan,* p. 268.

as his retainers. Obviously a small farmer could not defend himself against aggression, and he accordingly allied himself to some more powerful person. All land belonging to the emperor, a strong person had no right to it more than a weak one; thus the only difference between a samurai-farmer and a daimyo was that the latter was usually able to secure a title from the emperor whereas the former stood in feudal relations with only his feudal lord, whose vassal he became.[20] Some daimyos continued to be farmers, letting out the land to tenants, but in some cases they had under them and gave protection to farmers who held more land than themselves, on condition that a certain number of fighting-men be furnished. Sometimes these barons gave up their titles[21] as daimyos and became farmers again.[22]

The daimyo gave his vassals support on condition of military service. If anyone was already in control of a piece of land, large or small, he was usually not disturbed, but discharged his obligations by supplying a proper proportion of fighting-men, of course going himself if his holding was small, and if he could not send his son or some one else. Some able-bodied young man, able to fight and wishing to attach himself to a daimyo, might have no land. The lord would reward him with a territory, large or small according to the samurai's bravery and ability. Or he might give the vassal the right to

[20] As the shogun, daimyo and samurai were all military men and formed part of the same system, all have been put into the same class as fighting men, and the Japanese themselves in past times occasionally referred to them all together as samurai. Among the daimyo and the samurai there were numerous divisions and sub-divisions.

[21] There were territorial, and later official titles. Some daimyos had both titles but some had none at all.

[22] Often the military chief, with his adherents, "ceased fighting, withdrew to his land, and became a farmer, keeping his rank as samurai, but paying a tax to a daimyo or the shogun like any farmer". Simmons and Wigmore, *Land Tenure and Local Institutions,* T. A. S. J., Vol. XIX, p. 79.

One of the four richest men in Japan to-day is the descendant of just such a farmer.

receive the income of a certain area of land. Where neither of these methods was followed a grant of a definite amount of rice to be drawn annually from the income of the lord might be made. The methods of procedure were not uniform and varied according to locality and century.

The differentiation of samurai from farmers was gradual[23] but in the fourteenth century the former was recognized as a distinct class to which attached rights and privileges giving them a position of superiority over the peaceful part of the population. Ieyasu made them the masters of the lower classes.[24] In some provinces they still continued to farm while holding samurai rank, but nearly everywhere this was forbidden, as it was rather beneath the dignity of a samurai to engage in agriculture.[25] After the death of Ieyasu the classes were so fixed and distinct that it was no longer possible for a plebian to rise to the rank of samurai.[26]

[23] "It was after feudalism had been ushered in, that a class of professional soldiers made their appearance. Both the leaders and their retainers trained their sons in their own profession which therefore became a hereditary one." H. Yamawaki, *Japan in the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, p. 619.

[24] "The samurai are the masters of the four classes. Agriculturalists, artisans, and merchants may not behave in a rude manner towards samurai. The term for a rude man is 'other than expected fellow'; and a samurai is not to be interfered with in cutting down a fellow who has behaved to him in a manner other than is expected.

The samurai are grouped into direct retainers, secondary retainers and nobles of high and low grade; but the same line of conduct is equally allowable to them all towards an 'other than excepted fellow'." *Legacy*, Chap. 45.

[25] It is clear that there was no natural or logical development from farmer to samurai, or vice versa.

[26] "In 1540 A. D. the demarcation between the samurai, or the warrior class, and the farmer, or between the samurai and the artisan or merchant, was by no means a strict one. Any plebian that could prove himself a first-class fighting-man was then willingly received into the armed *comitatus* which every feudal potentate was eager to attach to himself and to his flag..... It was only in the sixteenth century that the wearing of two swords was confined to the select and privileged class of the samurai..... Down to the death of Ieyasu in 1616.....

The term samurai applies to the whole of the class whose privilege it was to carry arms, a long and a short sword.[27] These weapons were more to him than all else beside, for they were the symbol of honor and all that made life dear. His family must be disregarded, he himself must be willing to fall rather than suffer dishonor.[28] Sometimes his own short sword used by and upon himself was the instrument by which he won undying fame. His life was not his own but belonged to his lord whose retainer he was. It is easy to see that, assuming that a military class is desirable, Japan had in this samurai spirit, coupled with other high ideals which were in her possession, the basis for a military system second to none the world has yet seen.

Large land-holders, corresponding in many respects to the yeomen of England, became upper class samurai, a few of them daimyo, while the smaller farmers, working in the fields and inured to hardships, filled the ranks. Other able-bodied persons of menial occupations were attracted by the life of the soldier and took up arms.[29] These rude men came to feel the weight of the dignity imposed upon them. To be honorable, in the fullest and broadest use of the term, they must be trained in many ways. Swordmanship was supplemented by

any man of ability and of mettle could carve out a career for himself." J. Murdoch, *History of Japan during the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse,* p. 31.

[27] "A girded sword is the living soul of a samurai. In the case of a samurai forgetting his sword, act as is appointed; it may not be overlooked." *Legacy,* Chap. 37.

[28] This was not mere sentiment, as it too often becomes in the hands of many Westerners who write about it to-day. To the samurai it was real, it was life itself. This spirit is by no means dead yet, for when a few years ago the samurai disappeared as a class it became the property of the nation. In the late war with Russia it was manifested not only by soldiers who belonged to the former samurai families but also by those who came from the farm and the shop.

"In Japan the samurai soul yet pervades in full force the very life of the nation." A. M. Knapp, *Feudal and Modern Japan,* Vol. I, p. 51.

[29] "They must originally have been a rough breed who made fighting their vocation." Nitobe, Bushido, p. 5.

discipline in other knightly virtues. Knowledge was not to be prized for its own sake. The ethical code of the samurai—Bushido—determined the standards of his conduct.[30] Confucianism made over by the Japanese under the influence of Chinese philosophers of the twelfth century, became his creed.[31] During the long peace of two and a half centuries preceding the Restoration Confucianism was the national philosophy and, it might almost be said, religion. Buddhism, which for a thousand years had been in alliance with Confucianism in controlling the national life became antagonistic, but it waned as Confucianism gained strength. A coterie of native scholars strove to revive Shinto in opposition to this foreign philosophy. Confucianism held the field, and has yet in Japan greater power over the thought and life of the older persons of the educated class than any other single influence.[32]

[30] "Their only duty was to make themselves physically and mentally fit for their lords in time of necessity, and in times of peace to make themselves as much like gentlemen as possible. In other words physical training and mental enlightenment, together with the refinement of their manners and habits, were their sole business—they had no other occupation." K. Suyematsu, *The Ethics of Japan.*

[31] "Devotion unto death is the chief of virtues for them,—and only as we understand their ideals can we know the life of the people. Confucianism gave these scholars a completed system which made righteousness ultimate and supreme; their instincts interpreted and the history of the past illustrated the teaching,—as Buddhism had incorporated the ancient gods in its own beliefs, so did the Chinese philosophy in Japan adopt as its own the heroes of the feudal wars. In both instances the native element transformed the foreign system." Knox, *Japanese Life in Town and Country,* p. 121.

[32] "The system which for three hundred years has exercised the most powerful influence in forming the Japan which now is, was the teachings of Confucius as set forth by the Chinese philosophers of the twelfth century A.D. But Confucianism never became the religion of the multitude, and in the modern era its philosophy has given way to the learning of the West." Knox, *Religion in Japan,* p. 3.

A Japanese wrote last year in the Yomiuri Shimbun:—"Up to the Restoration it was Confucianism that governed ethical thought, the two religions, Shintoism and Buddhism, having little influence in this direction. That which is called *Bushido,* a system of morals unique

The military spirit permeated the whole of society, and all that was best found expression in the life of the samurai. With their families totaling about two millions out of a population of about twenty-seven millions,[33] the samurai formed the upper middle class. To maintain this spirit occasional fighting was necessary.[34] The flower might bloom in an era of peace but an enduring peace involves its decay. This actually happened in Japan. The Tokugawa period, lasting two hundred and seventy years and ending only with the Restoration, is said to have been the most peaceful era in the history of mankind.[35] Wars were only a memory and the

in the world, had its origin in Confucianism. Other effects of the teaching of Confucius are, the establishment of social ranks, the cultivation of a proper sense of shame, and the production of a spirit of indifference to poverty and hardships. We Orientals have reason to be proud of the fact that we have produced a spiritual and practical civilization in contrast with the material and formal civilization of the Occident. The morality of Confucianism transcends utility, experience and mere bread for the body."

[33] "Statistics show that some six hundred thousand samurai families had to be supported out of the revenues of the fiefs, and that a muster of all military men between the ages of twenty and forty-five would have produced a force nearly a million strong." Brinkley, Vol. IV, p. 11.

[34] Compare the view of Bagehot: "War both needs and generates certain virtues; not the highest, but what may be called the preliminary virtues, as valour, veracity, the spirit of obedience, the habit of discipline. Any of these, and of others like them, when possessed by a nation, and no matter how generated, will give them a military advantage, and make them more than likely to *stay* in the race of nations. The success of the nations which possess these martial virtues has been the great means by which their continuance has been secured in the world, and the destruction of the opposite vices insured also. Conquest is the missionary of valour, and the hard impact of military virtues beats meanness out of the world." *Physics and Politics,* pp. 74-75.

[35] The Tokugawa shoguns have been called tyrants, more desirous of keeping the control of the realm in their own family than of advancing the interests of the mass of the people. Certainly theirs was a policy of suppression involving the keeping down of able and ambitious persons who might dispute their right to the control of affairs. From this standpoint it was an injurious peace.

decay of the military system was inevitable. The samurai began to live in vice and profligacy.[36] As great fighters the samurai would hardly rouse our admiration, and their tactics on the field of battle would not by us be regarded as skillful. It was as an individual, guided by lofty principles, and as part of a system that the samurai appeals to us, and his spirit is the precious heritage of the Japan of today.[37] When the country was opened in 1854 the spirit was alive in the nation, but the samurai was a relic of a bygone day. Thousands of them were no longer retainers of feudal lords, but unattached and irresponsible were living on the privileges and dignity of the class. Foreigners looked on in wonder and disgust.[38]

The farmer has always been respected in Japan, and the importance of his occupation never overlooked. The provisions made in every era to encourage and help the agricultural class were sometimes for the purpose of securing more from them; but even then there was a feeling of gratitude to the cultivator of the soil. Recognition of the fact that the national prosperity depended on agriculture enlisted the sympathy of the upper classes and gave an honored place to the farmer. Failure of the crops was regarded as a national loss and the farmer was relieved in large measure from the incidence of crop failure. Rulers and the upper classes often adopted strict measures of economy to relieve the loss of the farmers. On the whole, it may fairly be said that in no land have the peasants received greater consideration than in Japan. That most of the samurai came from the farming class kept the latter high in public esteem. In some places the line of

[36] "The loyalty and courage of the samurai, his noble contempt for money, his simple habits and frugal life had constituted a moral title to the position which he occupied..... Long continued peace deprived him of his uses and poverty brought him into contempt." Brinkley, Vol. III, pp. 145, 151.

[37] They call it *Yamato Damashii,* the Japanese spirit.

[38] The opinions of several are cited: "The samurai were rapidly degenerating into a herd of voluptuous imbeciles." "Bushido had gone to seed." "They are 'swashbucklers'."

demarcation never became very distinct, and while a farmer after the time of Ieyasu might not become a samurai, the latter might again take up farming. That no degradation attached to his occupation made the farmer contented and willing to work for the welfare of his own family and of society. The proud samurai might live and die for honor's sake but to the farmer belonged the task of cooperating with nature in producing necessary food for all. Beneath him were many lower classes, and without government permission he could not if he desired lower himself by becoming a merchant.[39] His self-respect was enhanced by the privilege which the farmers enjoyed of being largely self-governing; the affairs of state gave them little concern and they were allowed practically to make their own laws, for any custom of fifty years' standing was not interfered with by the authorities.[40]

The chief agricultural product from the beginning has been rice and, while tilling the fields is not easy labor, it has always been possible to cultivate a sufficient quantity of this cereal to support the entire population. If instead of the divisions that existed because of feudal conditions there had been more of mutual helpfulness, and a little more foresight in providing for the future, even the horrors of the famines of former days might have been materially softened if not altogether

[39] Cf. Knapp, *Feudal and Modern Japan,* Vol. I, p. 80.

[40] This bears out what has been said regarding the authority of the shogun becoming nil at the point farthest from his capital. "The laws for the government of the feudal lords and their retainers (with which, of course, the people had little or nothing to do) must not be confounded with those affecting the common people, especially the laws relating to titles to land, to the collection of taxes, to irrigation and to the thousand and one questions involving the rights and privileges of an essentially agricultural community..... In a vast majority of cases the people themselves, by means of a system of arbitration which they were encouraged to employ instead of appealing to the established courts, were the executors of their own rights." T. A. S. J., Vol. XIX, p. 50. We must, however, not lose sight of the fact that the heads of the "neighboring fives", after them the heads of the villages, etc., were at least in theory responsible to those above them in authority.

averted.[41] The land, even though not remarkably fertile, is, under Japanese cultivation, abundantly fruitful.[42] More than two centuries ago Kaempfer said that "no nation understands the art of agriculture better than the Japanese". In 1775 the Swedish physician, Thunburg, remarked on the "great state of perfection to which agriculture was brought, but was disappointed that the fields were kept so free of weeds as to afford very little chance to botanize". Not even "three acres and a cow" are necessary to the Japanese farmer, for he can dispense altogether with the animal, and with his family[43] live pretty

[41] How similar to England during the "golden age of the English labourer, which lasted all through the fifteenth century. Food was cheap and abundant; wages were amply sufficient..... Although it cannot be asserted that people did not occasionally die of want in very bad times, yet the grinding and hopeless poverty, just above the verge of actual starvation, so often prevalent in the present time, did not belong to mediaeval life. But before the next century was completed part of the nation was impoverished, the labourers were degraded and despoiled, and a long legacy of pauperism and misery was bequeathed to the country by the wastefulness of Henry VIII." Gibbins, *Industrial History of England,* pp. 79-81.

Toynbee says, "In spite of the ignorance and stupidity of the farmers and their use of wretched implements, the average produce of wheat was large. In 1770 it was twenty-five bushels to the acre." *The Industrial Revolution,* p. 45.

"But, on the whole, there were none of those extremes of poverty and wealth which have excited the astonishment of philanthrophists, and are now exciting the indignation of workmen. The age, it is true, had its discontents, and these discontents were expressed forcibly and in a startling manner. But of poverty which perishes unheeded, of a willingness to do honest work and a lack of opportunity, there was little or none.....My studies lead me to conclude, that though there was hardship in this life, the hardship was a common lot, and that there was hope, more hope than superficial historians have conceived possible, and perhaps more variety than there is in the peasant's lot in our own time." T. Rogers, *The Economic Interpretation of History,* p. 63.

[42] See an able discussion on this subject giving the views of many authorities by E. Kinch, *The Agricultural Chemistry of Japan,* T. A. S. J., Vol. VIII, pp. 369-414.

[43] The wife and daughter share in field-labor. The country-woman is never idle.

comfortably on an acre or less. His great industry and even skill have been favorably commented on by nearly all Westerners who have visited the country.

The shogun and each daimyo, notwithstanding the fact that the title of all the land was vested in the emperor, were in practical possession of the land in each of the districts, but in the last analysis the farmer was to all intents and purposes the owner of the portion he lived upon. He might be a permanent tenant but he was forbidden to sell it; however, in case of need he could borrow from more fortunate neighbors and thus in a sense mortgage it; or he could lease it. The husbandman was, however, under the protection of his daimyo and of the shogun, and on the basis of an average yield from his fields[44] he was required to give a proportion to the authorities as tax. Land directly under the shogun was taxed one-half; daimyos demanded six or seven-tenths of the gross produce.[45] If the farmer was a tenant possibly half of the remainder must be given to the landlord. The farmers in the shogunate territory were much better off than those under diamyos.[46] The amount paid, in rice, was usually delivered without murmuring.[47]

[44] What Westerners have often taken to be the revenues or incomes of the daimyos—in some cases amounting to millions of dollars—was this estimated yearly crop of their districts; it simply furnished the basis of taxation. This, of course, does not apply to land which the shogun and daimyos themselves held.

[45] This may at first seem excessive. Out of what the daimyo received he supported his retainers not otherwise provided for and improved his district. When in 1871 the daimyos surrendered their fiefs, at the same time being relieved of the support of their retainers, and were granted pensions amounting to one-tenth of their former incomes some sank into a state of poverty. The tenant to-day pays the landlord one-half of the crop as rent.

[46] Some daimyos treated the farmers with excessive severity. "Perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to compare the condition of the farmers in some provinces with that of the negroes in the United States under slavery." T. A. S J., Vol. XIX, p. 60.

[47] "Taxation as understood or felt by the people of most countries is a burden imposed, a kind of robbery of the results of hard-earned

The details of agriculture were the responsibility of local officials who advised the farmers about the kinds of seed and their quality, about improvements and everything pertaining to the best methods. Stimulus was given by awarding prizes for the best quality and yield of rice. Thus the sturdy farmer, forming the middle or lower-middle class of society, had the respect and encouragement of the aristocracy. He was not left in ignorance and was not downtrodden, but was a useful and valued member of society.

That artists and artizans should have a lower place in the social scale than the farmers seems strange to us, but such was the case in Japan. This is all the more surprising when we examine the arts and industries, and remember how these were appreciated by the Japanese. Among the members of the hereditary corporations of ancient days were some of great skill; their successors in feudal days were in no whit their inferiors. The deliberate policy of the government to foster petty jealousies and cause less and less intercourse between the different daimyates arrested the development that might have taken place, but the people had ample time to cultivate the arts, and nearly all arts that have made Japan famous abroad reached their highest development under the feudal regime. The American expedition under Perry was struck "with the number and beauty and perfection of the products of Japanese industry and art". The nation has the aesthetic sense highly developed.[48] Whether the material be one of the

means of the people; but it was as a rule quite differently regarded by the people of Japan. The payment of taxes did not seem to be regarded by the peasants as a burden, but as a loyal duty, in which they took more or less pride. It was an offering,.....a precious thing not to be defiled." The time of the annual payment of the rice at the collector's storehouses where each farmer's rice was submitted to inspection, instead of being an occasion of sorrow and irritation, was more like a fair where each vied with the other in presenting for official inspection the best return of rice. *Ibid,* pp. 58-59.

[48] "Whether good or bad, both in design and workmanship, Japanese art carries with it the taste and the aspiration of the race." Y. Ono, *The Industrial Transition in Japan,* p. 48.

metals or clay, wood or bamboo, whether the workman be called an artist or an artisan, the product was a work of art.[49] It was art for art's sake; not for a market but for the enjoyment of those able to appreciate it.[50] Aritsans enjoyed the patronage of the daimyos and vied with each other for that privilege and honor.

Carpenters, blacksmiths, and other workmen belonged to this same class and ranked higher than the wealthy merchants by whom they were frequently employed.[51] There was no organized industry and not even the germ of anything approaching a factory system. And yet, despite the arrested development due to feudal conditions, the artisan class added materially to the comforts of life.

Among the three divisions of *heimin,* or ordinary people,—farmers, artisans, and merchants,—classes which formed nine-tenths of the entire population, the merchant stood lowest in popular repute. Hardly any fact in Japanese history stands out so prominently as this, that the Japanese looked down with peculiar disdain upon a calling which was universally regarded as involving gain at the expense of another.[52] To them com-

[49] "No country in the world beside Japan can boast of a living and a highly developed art that has numbered upwards of twelve hundred years of unbroken and brilliant productiveness. It is generally supposed to have reached its culmination in the hands of a group of great experts who flourished during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. It was the era of the artisan artist." Brinkley, *Japan,* in Encyclopedia Britannica.

[50] "Like the samurai, he had his own ideals, and his own status, and his own way of life, and with these he was content, not being engaged in a scramble for more money or a higher position." Knox, *Japanese Life in Town and Country,* p. 194.

[51] Foreign architects and builders who have given attention to the matter affirm that the Japanese workman is second to none in the world.

[52] "We may safely say that as far back as history carries us contempt for the mere business of money-making was a prominent characteristic of the Japanese people. There is hardly an authentic tale of any length that does not furnish facts proving this. The merchant, the usurer, the middleman, were regarded as the pariahs of ancient

merce and trade had an essentially selfish origin. Each party to such a transaction would be seeking his own advantage and one could supposedly gain only at the expense of the other. Samurai were taught that it was in bad taste to mention outside the family circle matters relating to purchases or sales; it was a mark of good breeding to be ignorant of the value of different coins.[53] Indeed in almost every province there was a different system of weights, measures and coins. At the time of the Restoration there was almost indescribable confusion because of the hundreds of kinds of currency in use in the different localities. It was not the possession of wealth nor the use of it, but the very business of making money that was despised.[54]

The Japanese cannot be said to have been ignorant of the advantages of trade. Early intercourse with Korea and China had shown them that much was to be gained by free exchange of goods. The Portuguese, Spaniards, English and Dutch brought them the products of Europe, but they chose to close the empire and restrict the volume of trade. During the period of seclusion, when useful information was pouring in through Dutchmen living on the few acres called the island of Deshima, the limitations were not removed but on the contrary the number of vessels permitted to come each year was reduced from two to one.[55] In accordance with this policy of isola-

Japanese society, to the level of whose life the noble samurai would rather die than descend." Dening, *Mental Characteristics of the Japanese*, T. A. S. J., Vol. XIX, pp. 23-24.

[53] "Many of the noble houses also showed their independence of vulgar commercial restrictions by using measures and weights of their own for fiscal purposes." Brinkley, Vol. VI, p. 154.

[54] "Associated with this absence of sordidness are some noble traits; a keen sense of honour; great independence; extreme generosity and unselfishness; and a taste for simplicity of living." Dening, *Mental Characteristics of the Japanese*, T. A. S. J., Vol. XIX, p. 24.

[55] "The monopoly the Dutch thus secured brought considerable profits.....Between 1609 and 1858 they are said to have exported over forty million pounds sterling of gold and silver as well as two hundred thousand tons of copper. Deshima is now spoken of as a gate through

tion the Japanese themselves were forbidden to build sea-going vessels.

Domestic commerce fared little better. Its history even today is almost a sealed book. Early attempts to get coins into circulation had met with almost complete failure. For more than six centuries there is only one mention of Japanese coinage, in the early part of the fourteenth century; but this experiment can hardly be regarded as successful, for the coins did not circulate as freely as did the Chinese coins already in use.[56] It is difficult to speak with any assurance of the commercial customs of feudal times before the seventeenth century.[57] From that time, despite the difficulties he labored under, the merchant prospered. Being considered a dishonest and dishonorable person, it is but natural that he was more or less devoid of a sense of honor. He amassed a fortune and stood in sharpest contrast to the samurai who lived in penury and want.[58]

The Japanese are not the only people in history who have looked upon the merchant with contempt,[59] but it is difficult to

which the wealth of the country flowed away incessantly during two centuries and a half, and some justice must be conceded to the definition." Brinkley, Vol. VI, p. 169.

[56] "The income of feudal lords and the payment of rents were estimated in rice as late as the time of the present emperor.....The actual 'money economy' of Japan may be reckoned accurately from the Restoration of 1868." Kinoshita, *Past and Present of Japanese Commerce,* pp. 40-41.

[57] Brinkley, Vol. VI, p. 153.

[58] So recently as 1876 a party of erstwhile samurai issued this declaration:- "An eagle will never become a seed-eater, but will rather die of hunger; so also a samurai of honor will never give himself up to trade or any such occupation; nor to other things which are contrary to his nature." In proving their sincerity many did give up their lives. Cf. Rein, *Japan,* pp. 369-370 *passim.*

Many samurai who took up some small business, being ignorant of business methods, lost their all and fell into abject and hopeless poverty.

[59] "Trade and commerce as we know them were unknown to the Romans, and they could not have attained any large development un-

find the reason for their clinging so tenaciously to the idea that sordid gain was the root of all trade, and for their failing to see the mutual benefits to be gained from friendly commerce and exchange.[60]

The relation of cities to Japanese social life is most interesting. The emperor's capital, which for a thousand years was Kyoto, was and is a flourishing city. Kæmpfer said in 1690 that it was probably the largest city in the world, but today it is not more than half its former size. Kamakura, the first shogun's capital, which at one time had a population of a million or more, is today a village of ten thousand or less. Many of the castle towns of feudal days are little more than historic names. We need not seek far to find the reason for this. Naturally population and wealth would flow toward Kyoto where the emperor's court was, and toward Yedo (Tokyo), the shogun's capital, but many of the towns and cities were near the daimyos' castles, the sites of which were

der such an organization of society. Such agriculture and manufactures as existed were carried on mainly by slaves, and occupations connected with them were regarded as unworthy of free men. The higher classes in Rome looked with contempt upon trade of any kind, and passed laws forbidding their members to engage therein. It was the same even in the freest of the Greek democracies." Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution,* p. 146.

[60] Kinoshita puts the blame on Buddhism,—"The spread of Buddhism led the people to shun the pursuit of worldly affairs, since the production of wealth would stimulate the desires. Such a belief put at the heart of human life could not but have a profound effect upon the growth of industry, commerce, trade and all the business relations of life..... The Buddhist priests were educated representatives of the Chinese civilization which they taught to the people among whom they lived. The religion they disseminated was hostile to all economic life and progress, of which it dried up the very fountains. A high order of economic life and material welfare must be developed in spite of it and never because of it." *Past and Present of Japanese Commerce,* pp. 34, 35. This seems hardly fair, for the Japanese adapted everything else and could have modified this. The Chinese at one time looked on the merchant with disfavor but they developed commerce and trade despite the influence of Buddhism. This age-long aversion to trade seems to have been in the Japanese character.

often chosen because of their possibilities for defense. Unlike the burg in Europe the space inside the wall was occupied by only the feudal lord and his retainers; the artisans and merchants lived outside the wall below the castle, while the farmers lived scattered throughout the territory at the most convenient places.

The lowest class of society was made up of outcasts. Many Japanese claim that they were foreigners never admitted into the nation by naturalization. Possibly the tanners who came over from Korea in the fifth century were the first of these. Every person who had to do with skins or leather, with human corpses, carcasses of animals, etc., all executioners, keepers of brothels, beggars, some classes of criminals, and many others were included in this class. One name for a large division of them was *hi-nin, i. e.,* not human, and the appellation was appropriate, in that they were treated as if they were not human. Degraded and polluted they remained outside the pale of society. They lived in separate villages and formed no part of the population, for their names and numbers were not included in the census; when counted at all the numerals used in counting animals were used. Even to give them food involved contamination and no Japanese would even walk through one of their villages. The business of some of these people was of such a nature that they became enormously wealthy, but no amount of riches was sufficient to give them social standing.

Note. Buddhist priests had no social status and hence no position can be assigned them in the scale. Generally speaking they had rank about equivalent to that of the samurai.

CHAPTER III.

The Changing Social Order.

The Japanese on an area equal to about one-half of the present Japanese empire developed an indigenous civilization. Then contact with outside nations, Korea and China, gave to Japan a new religion and the pattern of a state. With the adoption went adaptation, but, although the indigenous civilization was not altogether overwhelmed by the alien elements, Japanese scholars today are of the opinion that the wholesale importation of Chinese ideas at that time was somewhat premature and excessive. An unexpected result of the transplanting of the Chinese bureaucratic form of government, absorbing the power of the emperor and eventually handing it over to local potentates, was the development of feudalism. Again, in the sixteenth century Japan came into relation with the outside world, this time with Europeans. Japan had been an isolated group of islands in ancient days; then after a few centuries of intercourse with the continent of Asia she secluded herself from the outside world. Later, after a brief century of intercourse with the peoples and civilizations of Europe, she shut herself off from the influences of the West. Another period of development followed during which Japan assimilated certain elements of Western culture, a knowledge of which she had acquired during the century of contact. In her institutional life the imported elements have in many instances transcended those which were native; the embryonic native religion gave way to the more vital system of Buddhism; Confucianism filled an ethical void; the Chinese pattern of bureaucracy supplanted the tribal state; the use of letters, many of the industrial arts, and their technique, all came from without. Japan's whole career has been one continuous effort to

assimilate; her invariable attitude has been that of apprenticeship. She has twice risen out of a state of decline and started upon new periods of development. In each instance, however, traditional Japanese thought was strong enough and yet plastic enough to undergo the change without national revolution.

The general impression until quite recently was that in her seclusion Japan was asleep, uninfluenced by and ignorant of what was going on in the West. We are, however, learning from the literature of these centuries of supposed isolation that Japan was fully cognizant of what was transpiring in Europe. One condition on which the Dutch were permitted to remain at Deshima was that they should communicate to the Japanese authorities everything of importance that took place. It is true that the importation of books generally was forbidden, but the purpose of this prohibition was to keep out everything which might in any way help the cause of Christianity. Books of a scientific nature, maps, etc., were imported by the Dutch, and these few sole representatives of the Occident disseminated scientific knowledge which was of great help to the nation at large. A few Japanese, other than those appointed, and therefore contrary to the government regulations, dared to study the Dutch language, and thereby imbibed the ideas of the West. The rulers had an intense interest in what was going on in the outside world, and were fully aware that sooner or later the intrusions of Western civilization were inevitable. The people were kept in ignorance of international relations, but for a whole century before the country was finally opened, Occidental influences were at work, and when the time came the Japanese were prepared, however unwillingly, to break down the barriers they had erected and so long successfully kept up.

It is idle to speculate as to what would have happened had not America and the nations of Europe insisted that Japan should open her gates. The forces of feudalism had reached their ultimate development and, altogether apart from Western influence, some change must inevitably have taken place.

Westerners, however, did force the gates and the whole country soon came to be in a state of turmoil. One large section of the nation was for driving out the foreigners, but it was soon seen that this could not be done; once removed the barriers could not be put up again. After fifteen years of stormy, yet on the whole peaceful, conflict, during which agitation the seeds of constitutional government were sown,[1] the shogun resigned and the emperor was restored to the throne. Feudalism and the shogunate fell together, for, only a few months after the so-called temporal ruler surrendered the reins of government, the feudal lords gave up their fiefs and the eight centuries of feudalism came to an end. The imperial decree of August, 1871 ran: "The clans are abolished, and prefectures are established in their places." The former feudal lords for a time continued in their districts as governors but this was only a temporary arrangement. Here and there were opposition and civil disturbance, but how well prepared for the great changes the people were is evident from the rapidity with which the changes took place. The pressure from without of the forces which opened the country served to unify the nation. Under feudalism there had been no semblance of national unity, but the Restoration, and the accompanying movements, made the people one. Two months after the abolition of the feudal fiefs an imperial decree emancipated the lowest classes of society by granting citizenship to nearly one million outcasts of different kinds.[2]

Under feudalism the policy had been that the people should be governed but not instructed; the masses were kept in

[1] "Had not the foreigners come, the Restoration might have been effected, fedualism might have been abolished, but the new Japanese constitution would hardly have seen the day." T. Iyenaga, *The Constitutional Development of Japan,* p. 9.

[2] "The legal distinction between the *eta* and other persons of the lower orders was abolished on October 12, 1871, at which time the official census gave 287,111 as the number of *eta* properly so-called, and 982,800 as the total number of outcasts of all descriptions. Scorn of the *eta* has naturally survived the abolition of their legal disabilities." Chamberlain, *Things Japanese,* p. 147.

ignorance of the laws. The coronation oath of the Emperor declared that all the affairs of state should be guided by public opinion; that all classes of the people, upper and lower, should be united for the common good; and that the artificial and absurd customs of former days should be done away with, and knowledge sought for throughout the world.

With the abolition of the feudal system the whole structure of society was changed; in a measure there was a return to the conditions which preceded the establishment of the shogunate in the eleventh century. The Japanese realized that while their country had been standing still the nations of the West had been making great progress. They recognized their own deficiencies and realized that it was necessary for them in a few years, or at least a few decades, to overtake the West. The insufficiency of the existing social order with its class distinctions was especially apparent. Japanese scholars had seen nothing worthy of study beyond Confucianism, which had been instrumental in setting up the barriers between the classes.[3] One of the chief objects of the present educational system,[4] established almost simultaneously with the restoration of the Emperor, was the levelling of the different orders in society and the obliteration of all class distinctions.

Many of the daimyos were admitted to the same rank as the former *kuge*, court nobles, but as few of them were qualified to take a prominent part in affairs of state,[5] they practically

[3] "Japan discovered her helplessness, she discovered, too, that the social order of Western peoples was totally distinct from hers. These discoveries seemed to break down all the remaining sanctions for her particular type of social order,—Confucianistic feudalism.....So long as the Shinto ideal of nationalism was not interfered with, the nation was free to adopt any new social order..... The real reason for the ease with which the individualistic Anglo-Saxon social order has been introduced has been the collapse of the sanctions for the Confucian order." S. L. Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese*, p. 413.

[4] Now one of the best in the world.

[5] While feudalism was decaying the real power in each district lay in the hands of able samurai who ruled their masters the daimyos.

disappeared from public view. The real actors on the national stage were prominent samurai, principally from the southern provinces, who, while restoring the emperor, practically assumed control of the affairs of state; this control they have not yet altogether reliquished. Most of the members of Cabinets and many of the leading statesmen of the past few decades and of the present day have been the samurai of former days. The minor offices, even including that of policeman, have for the most part been filled with men of this class. The right to become a soldier and fight for the country is no longer that of the samurai alone. There was opposition to admiting plebians into the ranks of the army, but today every male in the nation without distinction of family or rank is expected to serve with the colors.[6]

The population has almost doubled in this last half century, and there is a steady increase of about one per cent. each year. Until quite recently it was felt that the economic future of Japan lay in the development of her agricultural resources. As there was almost no other way to invest their wealth many rich persons bought up land and became capitalist farmers. There was a continuous move of the population from the former feudal cities to the country. In 1886 only eleven per cent. of the people lived in cities having a

It was the old plan of deputing power to an inferior, who came to be the real ruler.

[6] "The system of conscription was one of the most important of the Restoration undertakings. It meant that the 400,000 families of the samurai had to abondon their hereditary rights and duties as soldiers, together with their hereditary fees, given in rice. Certain sums were allotted to them from the national finances in proportion to the amount of fees which they used to receive..... The people who suffered most in honor and in interest under the new regime were the samurai." *Japan by the Japanese,* p. 106. "Every male adult in the whole country shall be compelled, without distinction of class or family, to fulfil, in accordance with the provisions of law, his duty of serving in the army." Her last two wars have shown that Japan has lost nothing by requiring military service of members of all classes of society. Even the Ainu are enlisted and follow the flag.

population of over twenty thousand.[7] But the great increase in population and the lack of large areas of new land capable of being brought under cultivation has since 1890 brought about a decided movement from the rural districts to the cities.[8] More than sixty per cent. of the entire population is still agricultural.[9] Improvements in methods of farming, and government encouragement in the way of agricultural education,[10] have advanced her agricultural prosperity, but Japan is in sight of the limits of her agricultural resources.[11]

[7] Cf. Ono, *Industrial Transition in Japan,* pp. 29 *seq. passim.*

[8] There was no Yokohama a half century ago. The population of Kobe was 13,296 in 1879; in 1903 it was 283,839. Osaka has from a city of a few hundred thousands became a great manufacturing center with more than a million inhabitants.

[9] "Agriculture, being the occupation of more than sixty per cent. of the entire population, is indeed the greatest of all Japanese industries; but in the application of scientific principles to agriculture and in the proportion of land under cultivation, Japan is far behind the progressive nations of Europe, and there is still ample room for improvement and development." *Sixth Financial and Economic Annual of Japan,* p. 58.

[10] There are several hundred agricultural schools. The Sapporo Agricultural School is almost of University grade.

[11] "She will by and by have to look abroad for supplies of the necessaries of life. Rice is the staple diet of the people, and she seems to have almost reached the potential maximum of her rice-growing area; for in spite of her genial climate and seemingly fertile soil, the extent of her arable land is disproportionately small. She has only eleven and one-half millions of acres under crops, and there is no prospect of any large extension, or of the yield's being improved by new agricultural processes." Brinkley, Vol. VI, p. 217.

"Agriculture, however, is still the fundamental basis of Japan's industrial life. To this industry the country owes its ability to pay its way, and but for the peasant farmer, who, by a more or less cheerful acquiescence in the imposition of a land tax, made it practicable for the newly formed central government to carry on the task of administration on a Western model, it is difficult to see where the resources could have been found for the consummation of so vast a change as that which has occurred during the last thirty years. But lately there has been an important shifting from agriculture to the manufacturing industry." Y. Hattori, *The Foreign Commerce of Japan since the Restoration,* p. 68.

Further improvement will help matters somewhat; Japan will be able to feed her present population, and perhaps a few millions more, from the products of her own soil, but her future is not agricultural.

When it became clear that the agricultural resources were not capable of great expansion attention was given to the mining industries of the country.[12] The idea entertained in the West that Japan is a land of great mineral wealth has been dissipated. The metallic stocks accumulated during centuries have been drained away in foreign trade, and there is little encouragement for those who formerly thought that there was unbounded mineral wealth still hidden in the earth.

Everything seems to point to a great industrial future for the Japanese. They have, or can produce, nearly all of the raw materials[13] needed for the factories they have already established and for more besides; they are skilled as artists and artisans and will manufacture in large quantities articles which will find a ready market throughout the world.[14] Every ef-

[12] "Mining, now one of the most important industries in Japan, was in the first years of Meiji still in a very backward state. The Government, being anxious to promote the industry, itself owned several mines which were worked according to the most recent European methods; but they mostly proved financial failures, and to avoid further losses, a majority of them were after a time sold to private persons, in whose hands they prospered and brought about the general development of our mining industry." *Sixth Financial and Economic Annual,* p. 69.

[13] "Japan cannot hope to compete in agricultural productions with those countries which have immense territory. Hence, Japan must rely on industrial development rather than on agriculture, and must strive to excel in the quality of goods produced rather than in quantity, ...Japan possesses all the advantages necessary to make her a great manufacturing country. Her people possess exceptional skill, and labor is relatively cheap; coal is abundant, and the raw material is easily obtainable either at home or in the neighboring countries." Hattori, *op. cit.,* pp. 78, 79.

[14] "Her future lies undoubtedly in industrial enterprise. She has an abundance of cheap labor, and her people are exceptionally gifted with intelligence, docility, manual dexterity, and artistic taste." Brinkley, Vol. VI, pp. 217-218.

fort is now being bent toward the development of the various industries. Factories are springing up everywhere. Manufactured goods already form a large proportion of the goods exported.[15] It now seems that Japan's economic future lies in the domain of manufacture.[16]

There has, of late, been a marked rise in the standard of living among the Japanese. Economy in the matter of expenditure and simplicity of life were formerly regarded as virtues. The productions of the Japanese themselves as well as large quantities of goods brought from the outside which until recently by the masses would have been considered luxuries are now regarded as necessities. The merchant has thus a wide field. There is no longer any contempt for this class. Some who had held high rank took to trade as a profession, and as honest and honorable persons in increasing numbers engaged in this pursuit[17] all contempt for the merchant class disappeared. Even poor boys who have become rich in business have been decorated by the Emperor and some of them fill honorable positions in society.

The prohibition against the building of sea-going ships was removed in the year after the Restoration, and Japanese products are now carried to all parts of the world in vessels of Japanese construction. Foreign trade has assumed large proportions, and a large part of the exports and imports are carried in Japanese ships. Not only is this the case but the

[15] "The export of manufactured goods, exclusive of raw silk and tea, is in value about 55% of the total exports." *Sixth Financial and Economic Annual,* p. 84.

[16] At present the textile industries are most important. There is a large number of technical schools.

[17] Honor, integrity, and unwillingness to take advantage of another went with the samurai contempt for money and have been carried with them by many who have gone into business. This has been the means of perceptibly raising the standards of commercial morality. In former days the merchant could hardly be blamed if he was not honest.

carrying trade of eastern Asia is almost altogether in the hands of the Japanese.[18]

The levelling process is thus almost complete.[19] The Emperor, no longer a god but a strong ruler respected and reverenced by his subjects, sits upon the throne. Shogun, daimyo, and samurai have disappeared entirely except in so far as by their ability they are able to command influence and authority. The social scale so far as the bulk of the population,—*heimin*,— is concerned seems to have been almost inverted. Any person irrespective of birth or wealth may now rise to a high position in society.[20]

Loyalty to the feudal lord has become love of country. The doing away with the feudal boundaries, the abolition of all class distinctions, the development of means of communication, including railroads, postal and telegraph systems, together with the use of a common speech have made the people one. Their veneration for antiquity has fostered love for the national ideals. There is a passionate devotion to everything Japanese which causes a national self-consciousness, so exclusive at times

[18] "At the close of 1903 the country possessed 657,000 tons of steamers and 320,000 tons of sailing vessels, making a total of 977,000 tons for both descriptions; the tonnage of the steam fleet was then about four times what it was nine years previously." *Fifth Financial and Economic Annual*, p. 175.

[19] In 1885 five orders of nobility were however instituted and in the official records registration of the nominal social rank has been kept up. In the schools, colleges, and universities announcement is made at commencement whether the graduate is of the noble, aristocratic, or ordinary standing. In 1903 there were 5,054 of the nobility, 2,167,389 gentry, and 44,547,568 persons formed the remainder of the popuation. In each case all members of the family are included.

[20] In the first House of Representatives (1890), made up of three hundred members, there were 129 farmers, 110 samurai, 19 merchants, and 1 manufacturer. In the sixth session the number of samurai fell to 79, the farmers increased to 134, and the merchants to 24. Cf. Brinkley, Vol. VI, pp. 239 *seq.*

To-day the highest official career is open to the poorest aspirant; many of the most influential men in public office have sprung from humble origin.

however in its chauvinistic manifestations as almost to interfere with national progress and development. This national feeling embodying most that is best in the samurai spirit of feudal days is the greatest moral asset of the Japan of today.[21]

Japan's intercourse with the West has not resulted in unmixed gain to her. Much of the beauty and charm of Japanese life have been lost forever. The new conditions have brought about changes as great as were caused in the seventh century by the influx of Chinese civilization. The Japanese do not wish to be praised for what they have been, but wish to take their place alongside of the most advanced nations of the West.[22] Japan is passing through an industrial revolution which carries with it all of the problems with which we have to deal in this industrial age in the Occident.[23]

[21] Had this spirit been diffused so as to permeate thoroughly the whole of society, instead of only the upper one-tenth, Japan would have been even better prepared to take her place in the family of nations. Overlooking for the moment her deficiencies it is well before making a final estimate and forecast to emphasize certain points of excellence. Varying estimates would be made by competent judges, but the following from Brinkley is moderate:—"Many phases of Japan's civilization were superior to the civilization of the West when she began to assimilate the better parts of the latter. She did not bring to the examination of the Occidental systems and their products a mind wholly untrained to distinguish the good from the bad. In her social conventionalisms, in her refinements of life, in her altruistic ethics, in many of her canons of domestic conduct, in her codes of polite etiquette, in her applications of art, she could have given to Europe lessons as useful as those she had to learn from it." Vol. I, p. 13.

[22] "Why do not Westerners praise us for huge industrial enterprises, for commercial talent, for wealth, political sagacity, powerful armaments? Of course it is because they cannot honestly do so. They have gauged us at our true value, and tell us in effect that we are pretty weaklings." Cf. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, p. 5. The Japanese accepted the standard of greatness set by the West and in the last twenty years have largely realized their ambitions along this line.

[23] They know that Ruskin said that machinery is a curse, and Carlyle's words picturing what he thought to be the condition of England

It would seem that Japan is none too well prepared to cope with these great problems. The situation is full of perils and it may be questioned if her present social organization will be able to endure the pressure now being put upon it.[24] The strength and weaknesses of the social organization are not on the surface but are woven through and through the social fabric. The two greatest problems are industrialism and individualism. It is not a matter of East or West, for both have essentially the same problems; but the emphasis is differently distributed, and the stages of development and the

in his day are ringing in their ears:—"In no time, since the beginnings of Society, was the lot of those same dumb millions of toilers so entirely unbearable as it is even in the days now passing over us. It is not to die, or even to die of hunger, that makes a man wretched. It is to live miserable we know not why; to work sore and yet gain nothing; to be heart-worn, weary, yet isolated." *Past and Present,* p. 250. They are fully alive to the dangers which threaten them as an industrial nation. "Such transition carries with it possibilities of evil as well as of blessing. The sudden introduction of labor-saving machinery on a large scale into a country whose industry has grown independently of such potential factors, must cause serious disturbances, and when these disturbances are exaggerated by misgovernment, they are liable to engender social evils which may make civilization a curse to the multitude of the people." Ono, *The Industrial Transition in Japan,* p. 14. And yet, feeling that "only among industrial people are free institutions realized" (Ono, *op. cit.* p .13), and that their path to greatness must be industrial, they are bravely facing the situation. The masses are not holding back, but are following their dauntless leaders.

[24] "Into the old, time-worn wine-skin of feudal bondage, isolated repose and military lethargy, was suddenly poured the new wine of individual liberty, international commerce and industrial activity; who can wonder if the wine-skin bursts?" Nitobe, *Intercourse between the U. S. and Japan,* p. 152. "Never before, perhaps, in the history of human civilization did any rulers find themselves obliged to cope with problems so tremendous, so complicated, and so inexorable. And of these problems the most inexorable remains to be solved. It is furnished by the fact that although all the successes of Japan have been so far due to unselfish collective action, sustained by the old Shinto ideals of duty and obedience, her industrial future must depend upon egoistic individual action of a totally opposite kind!" Hearn, *Japan,* pp. 511-512.

conditions under which they must be worked out are not the same. The marvelous growth of Japanese cities calls for the exercise of the greatest political and social sagacity; factory labor, especially that of women and children, involves matters already demanding adjustment.

The foundations on which the social system, with its class distinctions, was erected have been taken away. The spirit of loyalty, now patriotism, has survived all superstitions concerning the origin of the sovereign. He performs the traditional Shinto rites, now more ethnical than religious.[25] National ancestor-worship, fundamental ideas in the Constitution and the educational system, began to decay with the downfall of feudalism. Confucianism has been found to be sadly defective and non-adaptable to modern conditions.[26] It never denounced polygamy and concubinage nor respected the rights of women and children. It sanctioned certain class distinctions which do not now exist; on the other hand there are new social relationships not even dreamed of by Confucius.[27]

There is no recognition of the worth of the individual. Whatever of personality is not swallowed up in patriotism tends to be absorbed in other channels. The day of the relegation of human workers to positions analogous to beasts of burden has not yet altogether passed. History has left us in

[25] "A rudimentary religion of this kind is quite inadequate for the spiritual sustenance of a nation which in these latter days has raised itself to so high a pitch of enlightenment and civilization..... The reverence paid to the Mikado is not devoid of a religious quality which has its source in Shinto..... As a national religion, Shinto is almost extinct." Aston, *Shinto,* pp. 376-377.

[26] "The influence of the Confucian ethics has been waning in Japan, because it cannot meet her new conditions, since the introduction of Western culture. The traditions and customs of olden times, which were greatly cherished by the Confucian ethics, cannot be altogether maintained now by the more progressive spirit of modern science and philosophy." T. Kudo, *The Ethics of Confucius,* p. 55.

[27] "In our social life, there are more than the five relations which were maintained by Confucius. They are, for instance, the relations between different nations, betwen capital and labor, between the rich and the poor." *Ibid.* p. 50.

the dark as to the mass of the people in past ages. There has been a gradual emancipation and advancement; now even the *eta* and the Ainu are recognized as full members of the nation. Nevertheless nine-tenths of the total population still occupy an inferior status. All social relations imply acknowledged deference or superiority. Since feudal times there has been a worse form of slavery than existed ages ago; thousands of females are actually sold every year for immoral purposes.[28]

There are several important factors which will help in the solution of these momentous problems. After some years of preparation, Constitutional Government was established in 1890. The people not only share in the government but appreciate the privileges of representative institutions. The family group still is and may for some time continue to be artificially constructed, but as a social institution it will make for stability in great social crises.[29] Universal education,—among a people of more than average ability,—is showing excellent results and may be counted on more and more. Buddhism is once more becoming active and a moral force for good. The long despised and once expelled religion too offers her help. This is warmly welcomed and may be of great assistance to Japan in the solution of her social problems.[30]

[28] It is a debatable question whether the Japanese are any more licentious than other races; it is also worth considering if Japan's method of dealing with the social evil is not as good as that of any other nation. But the fact that not only Japan itself but the whole Orient is filled, or being rapidly filled, with Japanese Yoshiwara shows a radical defect in her social system.

[29] "Although every care has been taken to preserve the old family idea, the integrity of the system cannot possibly continue for many generations to come. The process of disintegration is already going on slowly." R. Masujima, *The Present Position of Japanese Law and Jurisprudence.*

[30] Christianity has been given credit for making the new Japan. Doubtless the contact with the so-called Christian nations and peoples of the West has been of great benefit. As the edicts against Christianity were still in force until 1872 greater results surely could not possibly have been expected from the efforts put forth. "Christian missionaries

are doing great things for Japan—in the domain of education, and especially of moral education:—only, the mysterious though not the less certain working of the Spirit is still hidden in divine secrecy. Whatever they do is still of an indirect effect. No, as yet Christian missions have effected but little visible in moulding the character of New Japan." Nitobe, *Bushido*, p. 116. There is to-day religious liberty, such as hardly exists anywhere else. As far as Japan is concerned the real task of Christianity is still ahead of her.

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The monumental work of Brinkley in eight volumes has as its basis the official publication, "The History of the Empire of Japan", which is the work of eminent Japanese scholars and which was translated by him.

Few who know Japan will grant that the general picture Hearn has drawn is true. His Japan did not and does not exist, but his last and best work "Japan: An Interpretation" is valuable and must be included in this list.

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